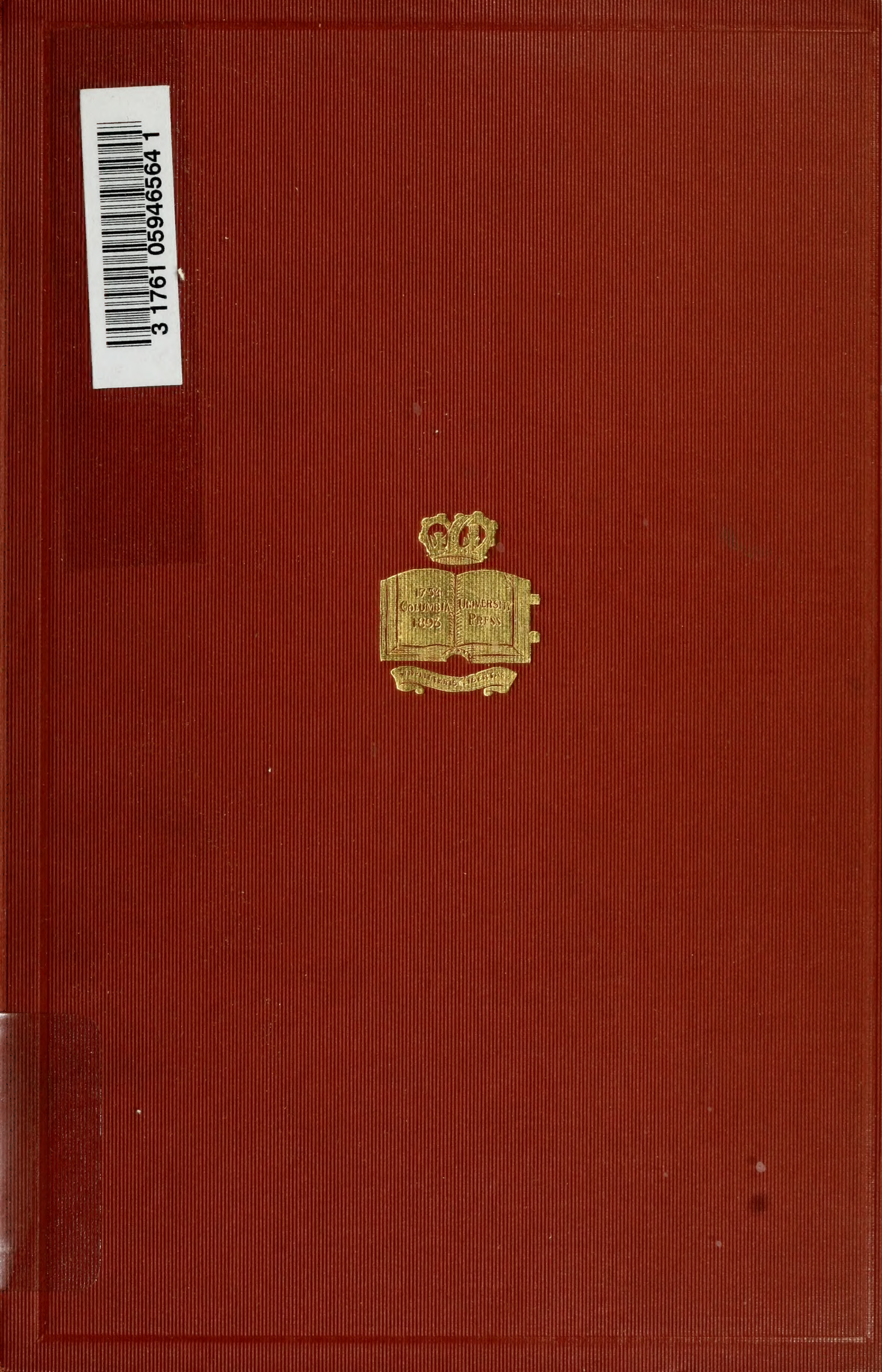
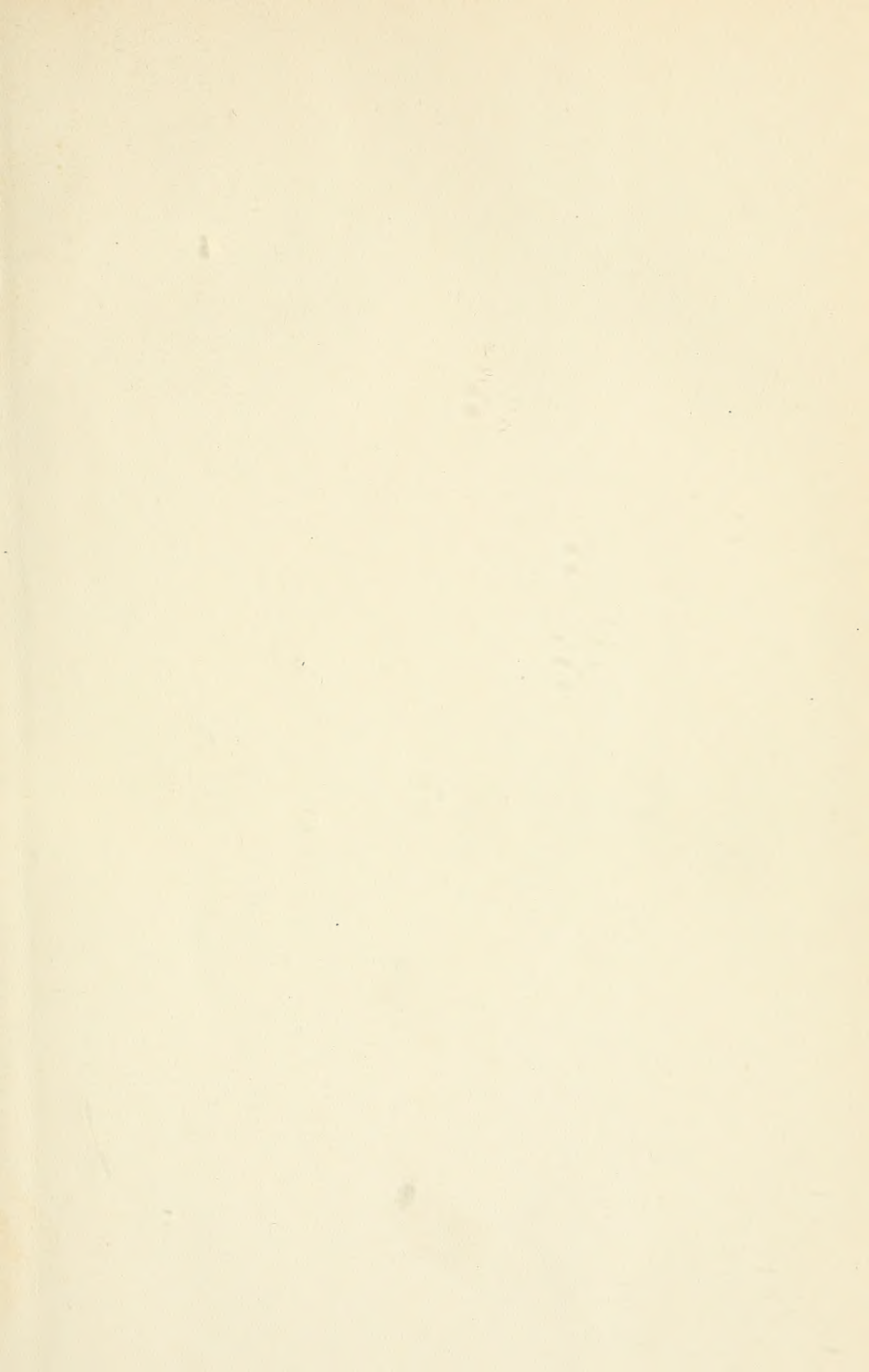

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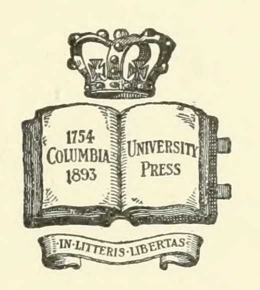
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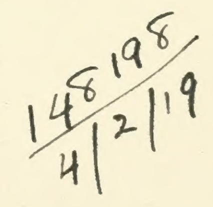
A STUDY IN ORIENTAL HISTORY

BY

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TO

PROFESSOR RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Ph.D.

TEACHER AND FRIEND



NOTE

The Mediterranean Sea is the natural meeting place of the various influences that have proceeded from three continents. The life of those cities that have taken a prominent part in developing the countries on its littoral must always be of interest to the student of history. Each city mirrors not only the general influences that were at work, but adds thereto its special quota of peculiar force. The rôle played by the Phœnicians, during the generations of their power and influence, as mediators between conflicting interests gives to their history a certain attraction. One of the chief centres of their power was the city of Sidon, and in the present volume of the Columbia University Oriental Series, Dr. F. C. Eiselen has studied the history of that city from the earliest times down to the present day. For this purpose he has gathered together the various references to be found regarding Sidon upon Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, in Hebrew literature, in the classical authors, in the records of pilgrims and in the historical works of Mohammedan writers. On account of the nature of the sources, his account of the life of the city must at times be disconnected. Future excavations will undoubtedly enrich our knowledge in regard to Sidon, and the discovery of ancient documents written by neighboring peoples will fill up many of the gaps. As far as our knowledge reaches at present, Dr. Eiselen has carefully brought together all that is to be found, and has laid down the general lines of development along which the city passed, first to its glory and then to its decline.

Richard Gottheil.

April, 1907.



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I. PRELIMINARY STUDIES

CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHY OF SIDON

In the wider sense the term Phœnicia was applied by the ancients to the whole territory extending along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, from the Gulf of Issus, which separates Cilicia from Syria, to the desert between Palestine and Egypt.[1] In a narrower sense it was used by the Greeks and Romans to designate a strip of the coast land, about 200 miles long and from two to fifteen miles wide. On the east this tract is bounded by the Lebanon Mountains, from which flow the streams that water the plain. The northern and southern limits are more difficult to determine, as they varied from time to time. Generally speaking, the territory extended from a few miles beyond the Eleutheros in the north, to Mount Carmel in the south, a little more than two degrees of latitude.

The territory is mostly level, cut here and there by headlands which project into the Mediterranean; as a result, the long and narrow maritime plain may be conveniently divided into smaller sections, called, beginning from the south, after the principal cities located in them, the Plain of Acco, the Plain of Tyre, the Plain of Sidon, the Plain of Beyrut, etc.[2] Following this division, the Plain of Sidon may be reckoned from the *Ras Ṣarafand*, a little north of Ṣarafand,[3] northward to the *Ras-al-Jajunieh*, a distance of about ten miles.

[1] Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, IX, 12, calls the Mediterranean Sea from Cilicia to Egypt, *Phœnicium mare*.

[2] Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœn.*, p. 6ff.

[3] The Biblical Sarepta.

The plain itself is very narrow, hardly ever more than two miles in width; it is well watered and very fertile. The water is supplied chiefly by three streams, coming from the mountains immediately east of the plain, the *Nahr-al-Auwaly* in the north, just inside of the *Ras-al-Jajunieh*, the *Nahr Senik*, which flows into the Mediterranean immediately south of Sidon, and the *Nahr-az-Zaherany*, about two and a half miles north of Sarepta. The water supply is supplemented by several fountains, among them the *Ain-al-Kanterah* and the *Ain-al-Burak*[1] between Sarepta and the *Nahr-az-Zaherany*. With this abundant water supply irrigation of the less favored spots becomes quite easy, and it is practiced extensively. The result is everywhere abundant fertility and beauty, of which writers in all ages speak with much enthusiasm. In the latter part of the fifth century A.D. Achilles Tatius[2] describes a grove near Sidon, "thickly planted with plane trees, through which flowed a stream of water, cold and transparent as that which proceeds from newly melted snow." The Arabic historians and geographers allude to it again and again. Idrîsî, writing c. 1154, speaks of Sidon as surrounded by gardens and trees;[3] Yâkût, c. 1225, states that there are large quantities of vegetables grown around the town;[4] and Ibn Baṭûṭa, 1355, calls it "a town full of fruit trees."[5] Of more recent travelers Robinson writes: "The beauty of Sidon consists in its gardens and orchards of fruit trees, which fill the plain and extend to the foot of the adjacent hills. . . . . The environs exhibit everywhere a luxuriant verdure, and the fruits of Sidon are reckoned among the finest in the country."[6] Similarly Porter: "The gardens and orchards of Sidon are

[1] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 524, 665.

[2] *De Clitophontis et Leucippes amoribus*, I, near beginning.

[3] *Nuzhat al-Muštâk*, ed. Gildemeister, p. 15; translation of Jaubert, p. 354.

[4] *Mu'jam al-buldân*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, p. 439.

[5] *Tuhfat an-nuzzar*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, I, p. 131; cp. also John Poloner, *Palestine Pilgrim Texts*, Vol. VI, p. 29; Jacques de Vitry, *P. P. T.*, Vol. XI, C. 25; Burchard of Mt. Zion, *P. P. T.*, Vol. XII, pp. 13, 14. Marino Sanuto, Book III, Part VI, C. 6.

[6] *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 2d edit., II, p. 479.

charming. Oranges, lemons, citrons, bananas, and palms grow luxuriantly, and give the environs of the old city a look of eternal spring. Sidon is one of the few spots in Syria where nature's luxuriance has triumphed over neglect and ruin."[1] And Benzinger writes: "The magnificent gardens which form a broad belt around the town, especially on the north, are the pride of Sidon. Oranges and lemons are largely cultivated and exported; almonds and apricots, bananas and palms also grow here.'"[2]

In this fertile plain stands the present town of Ṣaida, in northern latitude 33° 34′ 5″, eastern longitude, from Greenwich, 35° 22′ 34″.[3] It is situated on the northwestern slope of a small promontory, which projects here, in a southwesterly direction, for a short distance into the sea. The modern town, which extends about 900 yards from northeast to southwest, and somewhat less than 500 yards from east to west,[4] stands close upon the shore. Evidently, after the Crusades, the few survivors clustered around the principal harbor of the ancient town, which was north of the promontory, and there the new city grew up gradually.

The city has two harbors, but only one, the one in the north, is now in use. Down to the seventeenth century A.D. it was a very excellent harbor, but in the early part of that century the Druse Emir Fakhr-addîn, who sought to wrest Syria from the Turks, ordered it to be filled up in part, so as to prevent the landing of the Turkish fleet,[5] and at present only small boats can enter. The harbor is well protected in the west by a rocky island, which runs along the harbor about 250 yards. The north side is protected by a chain of small islands and reefs, which extend in a northeasterly direction about 600 yards. The present entrance is immediately west of the most easterly of these islands, which is connected with the city by a

[1] *The Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 275.

[2] Bädeker, *Palestine and Syria*, ed. 1898, p. 313.

[3] Ritter, *Geogr. und Stat. Lex.*, II, art. *Ṣaida*, says 34° 22′ 34″.

[4] According to the map in Bädeker. [5] See below, p. 106.

bridge.[1] The result is a convenient harbor about 500 yards long and about 200 yards wide. The natural defenses in the west and north were strengthened in very early times by walls built of huge blocks along the reefs and islets, remains of which fortifications may still be seen.[2] The modern bridge connecting the island in the north with the city may have been preceded in antiquity, before the time of Alexander the Great,[3] by a strong wall.[4]

Toward the south is a second harbor, even larger than the first, which extends about 600 yards from north to south, and nearly 400 yards from east to west. It is surrounded by the mainland on the north, south, and east, and is open for a space of about 200 yards toward the west. This harbor has a long stretch of sandy shore, and hence was a favorite landing place in very ancient times, when it was customary to draw the vessels upon the shore when night came. This second harbor can be used no longer, for it is completely filled with sand. It is not improbable that at one time the two harbors were connected so that vessels could pass from one to the other.[5]

Upon the island in the north are the ruins of a medieval castle, built, in the thirteenth century A.D.,[6] of large blocks, which in

[1] Gustav Hänel says that on this bridge the men of Sidon spend their evenings, smoking; *Z. D. M. G.*, IV, 326.

[2] Renan, *Miss.*, plan LXVII.

[3] Scylax, who belongs to the period preceding Alexander, calls the harbor of Sidon a "closed harbor;" *Periplus*, ed. Hudson, p. 42.

[4] But see note 5.

[5] Achilles Tatius, I, 1; Scylax, *Peripl.*, p. 42. Pietschmann holds—p. 54ff.—that the so-called southern or Egyptian harbor was never in use. He looks for the second or outer harbor of which Achilles Tatius speaks in the small bay between the island upon which stands *Kal'at-al-Bahr* and the mainland in the north. The ancient entrance to the harbor he locates east of the island, and he thinks that there was a passage between the island and the mainland, connecting the two harbors. There is much to be said in favor of this view; but additional investigation is needed to decide the question.

[6] "The part of the fortifications of Saida called *Kalaat el Bahar*, or 'castle of the sea,' is the only work which we can consider with certainty a contemporaneous monument of the *Sajette* of the Crusades. Yet this castle dates only from the commencement of the thirteenth century. It was built during

more ancient times belonged to another structure. The highest portion of the modern town is in the southeast, where stands the *Kal'at-al-Mu'ezzeh*, the ruins of a citadel said by some[1] to have been built by Louis IX. On the land side the town is enclosed by a wall which runs across the promontory from sea to sea. The city itself contains few attractions and few marks of high antiquity. The streets are narrow, dirty, and crooked, like those of most Oriental towns. Some of the houses are large and well built of stone; especially those along the eastern wall are distinguished for their height and size; these are built directly on the line of the wall, and constitute a part of it. Within the town are nine mosques, the largest of which, *Jâmi'-al-Kabîr*, in the western part of the town, was formerly a church of the Knights of St. John. In the open space south of this mosque stood the palace of Fakhr-addîn. It is now occupied by a Moslem school. Several hundred yards to the northeast stands the mosque of *Abû Nakleh*, formerly a church of St. Michael; a little farther in the same direction is the *Khân Fransâwi*, a magnificent structure erected by Fakhr-addîn.[2] The town contains five other large Khâns.[3]

One of the most interesting places outside of the modern town is the ancient necropolis, in which was found in 1855 the sarcophagus of Ešmunazar. It is located near a place called *Magharet Ablûn*, *i.e.*, cavern of Apollo, about 1100 yards southeast of the Acco gate, which is in the southeast corner of the city wall.[4] Another ancient necropolis has been unearthed east of the city, about 1650 yards from the sea, near *al-Hâlâliyeh*. Immediately west of this village, in a small place called *Ayaa*, in size about 110 by 275 yards, were discovered in 1887 a number of Greek and Phœnician sarcophagi.[5] Neither of these burial places goes back to a very early period of Phœnician history; indeed,

the winter of 1227 to 1228''; Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés*, p. 153; see below, p. 94.

[1] Pococke, *Description of the East and some other Countries*, II, 1, p. 87.

[2] Below, p. 105. [3] See below, p. 109. [4] Below, p. 138.

[5] Below, pp. 138, 139ff.

it is certain that none of the antiquities found there point to a period earlier than the sixth century B.C.,[1] and perhaps even later;[2] hence we may hope to discover, at some future time, a necropolis belonging to a more ancient period.

A few interesting places near the present town may be noted because of their connection with the past. Between the city and the necropolis in the south is the *Wely Neby Seidûn*, called by the Jews the tomb of Zebulon. In the Arabic name of this place the name of the ancient city has been preserved more accurately than in that of the modern town. Beyond the necropolis is a grotto, now a chapel of St. Mary, which in ancient times may have been a sanctuary of Aštart. About half a mile farther south, near the village *Maghdušeh*, is a cavern called *Magharet-al-Makdûra*, which may have served similar purposes. The site of another Phœnician temple is marked by the Maronite chapel of *Mâr Elyâs*, southeast of the city.[3] In the neighborhood of the town are several modern cemeteries; the largest of these is a Mohammedan burying place in the east. An ancient aqueduct approaches the city from the same direction; beyond the gardens it turns northward, and later again toward the east. By means of this aqueduct drinking water was brought into the city from the springs on the hills beyond the plain.[4]

Whoever attempts to determine the topography of the ancient city encounters serious obstacles, which arise chiefly from the fact that the present town is not the direct continuation of the ancient Sidon.[5] The history of the former begins at the close of the period of the Crusades; and the topographical data supplied by earlier writers are very few. The excavations also, which thus far have been confined very largely to the burying places, have yielded little information. However, there can be no doubt

[1] Renan, *Mission*, p. 414; cp. 503, 504. [2] Below, p. 148ff.

[3] Perhaps a temple of Ešmun; see below, p. 8, n. 5.

[4] *Z. D. M. G.*, VII, 39; cp. Renan, pl. LXVI.

[5] Renan says, p. 362, "Until the discovery of the great necropolis situated near *Magharet Ablûn*, in 1855, we could say that the ancient Sidon, mother of Canaan, had completely disappeared." Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, II, p. 191, calls the present town a "degenerate offspring of ancient Sidon."

that the ancient city was much more extensive than the modern town. In the first place, the antiquities unearthed by excavators have been found, not in the town, but in the gardens surrounding it, an indication that these gardens flourish upon ancient ruins. Then, there has been discovered, running in a southerly direction from Sidon, a series of Roman milestones, erected in 198 A.D.[1] The first of these, which marks the beginning of the measurements, and so probably the centre of the city at the time, stands 730 metres east of the eastern wall of the present town.[2] We may further assume that the necropolis in the south was immediately outside of the city wall; the same seems to be true of the necropolis in the east. If so, the territory between the latter and the present town must have been a part of the ancient city. If a necropolis could be located in the north, the extent of the ancient city in that direction also might be determined. What the future may bring forth it is impossible to say; it is not probable, however, that it will reveal a necropolis in the north. On the other hand, recent excavations have shown that the ancient city did extend much farther toward the north than the modern town; indeed, as far as the *Nahr-al-Auwaly*.[3] On the southern banks of this river have been unearthed the ruins of a temple of Ešmun, which was undoubtedly within the city proper. The place where these ruins have been found is a little more than 1000 yards from the mouth of the river, c. 2900 yards north-northeast of the northern gate of the present town, c. 2500 yards from the southern limit of the necropolis of *Ayaa*, c. 4400 yards from the tomb of Ešmunazar, and c. 1200 yards north of the village of *al-Beramîeh*, where several anthropoid sarcophagi have been discovered.[4] The walls of the temple itself form a rectangular enclosure, about 197 feet from east to west, 144½ feet from north to south.[5] The presence of a temple of Ešmun in this place is in

[1] Renan, p. 374ff.; cp. *Quarterly Statement of Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1874, p. 199. [2] Renan, p. 362. [3] Cp. Dionysius, *Orbis descriptio*, 912, 913.

[4] Berger, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles lettres*, XXXVII, 268, 269; cp. Renan, pl. LXVI, No. 4.

[5] *P. E. F.*, 1903, p. 180.

itself an evidence that the ancient city extended at one time to the banks of the *Nahr-al-Auwaly*. In the ruins of this temple have been found numerous inscriptions of Bod-aštart, king of the Sidonians,[1] the contents of which point in the same direction.

It is true that there is still much uncertainty concerning the reading of some parts of these inscriptions; but nearly all scholars agree that the king mentions in them several distinct sections of the city of Sidon.[2] C. C. Torrey thinks[3] that Bod-aštart means to distinguish between three separate quarters. The principal district, צדן ים, *Sidon by the sea*, covering approximately the site of the present town;[4] the second, שמם רמם, *High Heavens*, denoting the extension toward the heights just back of Sidon, including a strip of hill country extending as far northward as the city itself extended;[5] the third, ארץ רשף, *the district of Rešeph*, the quarter, in the nature of a suburb, extending toward the north and northeast as far as the *Nahr-al-Auwaly*. Of the different interpretations of this part of the inscriptions, that of Torrey is the most simple, and at the same time the most satisfactory, and surely there is nothing improbable in it. Why might not a city of antiquity, as prominent and prosperous as was Sidon for many centuries, have extended for several miles along the coast of the sea?

The inscriptions of Bod Aštart and Ešmunazar do not take us beyond the third century, or the last years of the fourth century B.C.,[6] but what is true of the extent of the city rebuilt after the destruction of Sidon by Artaxerxes Ochus,[7] is true also of the

[1] See below, p. 143.

[2] For a more detailed discussion of these inscriptions see below, p. 143ff.

[3] *J. A. O. S.*, XXIII, p. 156ff.

[4] Cp. Ešmunazar Inscr., *ll.* 16, 18, צדן ארץ ים, *Sidon, the district of the sea*; also C. I. S., I, No. 4, *l.* 5, as restored by Torrey, p. 170; see also *Z. D. M. G.*, XIX, p. 537, ארץ ים, *the district of the sea.*

[5] Cp. Ešmunazar Inscr., *ll.* 16, 17, שמם אדרם, to which a similar meaning may be given. Clermont-Ganneau locates שמם רמם in the northeast toward the temple of Ešmun, שמם אדרם in the southeast toward the modern *Mâr Elyâs*; *Rec. d'arch. orient.*, V, pp. 298, 299.

[6] Below, p. 151.

[7] Below, p. 65ff.

city which became the successor of "Esarhaddonsburg."[1] On the other hand, a very important section of the city destroyed by Esarhaddon seems to have been situated upon an island,[2] for he calls himself "the conqueror of Sidon, which is *in the midst of the sea*, the overthrower of its dwellings; its walls and its houses I tore down and *threw them in the sea*, and destroyed its site."[3] This island may have contained the palace of the king and fortifications of various kinds;[4] but the limited area of the islands, even of the largest, or of all the islands combined, makes it impossible to believe that in the days of Esarhaddon the entire city of Sidon, which at that time was an important commercial centre and had been such for centuries, was located upon these islands. There was, as in the case of Tyre, a city upon the mainland. How far inland and how far north and south this city extended it is difficult to say, and cannot be determined until further excavations throw additional light upon the early history of the city; nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that it was a city of considerable size in the days of Esarhaddon. This distinction between the island Sidon and the mainland Sidon is suggested in the inscription of Sennacherib quoted below.[5] Nothing is known concerning the topography of the city during the earlier period.[6]

[1] Or "fortress of Esarhaddon," *Kar-Ašur-ahê-iddin-na;* below, p. 53.

[2] Which one it may be impossible to say; perhaps the rocky island facing the northern harbor. If at one time the rocky peninsula facing the southern harbor was an island it also may have contained some of the buildings.

[3] For the full account see below, p. 53.

[4] Remains of fortifications are seen on several of the islands bordering the harbor of Sidon.

[5] See below, p. 51. Cp. also Josh. 11 : 8; 19 : 28.

[6] But see chapters II, III, and Division II, chapter I.

CHAPTER II

THE NAME SIDON

THE city whose history is sketched in the succeeding chapters bears in the Phœnician inscriptions the name צדן;[1] in the Old Testament, with the vowel letters, צידון[2] or צידן;[3] in the Assyrian inscriptions, including the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, *Ṣi-du-un-nu*,[4] or *Ṣi-du-nu*,[5] or *Zi-du-na*;[6] once, in a letter addressed by the Pharaoh to Aziru, *Zi-tu-na*.[7] The Greek writers reproduce this by Σιδών, the Latin by *Sidon* and *Sidonia*. The Arabic name of the modern town is صيدا.

According to the mythological notions of the Phœnicians as preserved by later writers, this name is derived from the proper nouns *Sidos* or *Side*, the names of ancient mythological figures. Eustathius declares[8] that Sidon was built by Belus[9] and named after his daughter Side. A variation of this myth is preserved by several Greek writers. They displace Side by Sidos, the son of Ægyptos, who is said to have built Sidon and named it after Sidos.[10] This latter explanation resembles somewhat the Biblical tradition, "And Canaan begot Sidon, his firstborn,"[11] which connects the city and its name with an individual named Sidon.[12]

These mythological attempts to furnish an etymology of the city-name Sidon cannot be accepted as correct; and as a matter

[1] *E.g.*, the Inscription of Bod-Aštart, *ll.* 2, 3; see below, p. 144.

[2] Jdg. 10 : 6; 2 S. 24 : 6, etc.

[3] Gen. 49 : 13; 1 Chr. 1 : 13.

[4] *Taylor Cyl.*, II, 35.

[5] B. 48, *l.* 71.

[6] B. 54, *l.* 21.

[7] B. 92, *l.* 12. This peculiar spelling is due undoubtedly to the fact that the writer was not a Semite.

[8] *Com. on Dionys.*, 912, 913.

[9] Cp. Virgil, *Æn.*, I, 619–622.

[10] Malala, *Chron.*, ed. Dindorf, p. 58; Glycas, *Annal.*, ed. Bekker, p. 255; Joel, *Chronogr. comp.*, ed. Bekker, p. 8.

[11] Gen. 10 : 15.

[12] Cp. Josephus, *Ant.*, I, 6, 2.

of fact, from very early times it has become customary to give an entirely different explanation of the word. Justin declares[1] that Sidon is named for the abundance of fish, "for the Phœnicians call the fish *sidon.*" Following this etymology, the name should be translated "fish," or perhaps better, "fishing" or "fish-town."[2] Since the days of Justin this explanation has been repeated over and over again, until very few think it worth while to inquire whether or not the traditional etymology is correct,[3] and it is only within very recent times that doubts have been raised.[4] In discussing the question, the following noteworthy facts should be borne in mind: (1) The earliest reference to this etymology is in the writings of Justin, *i.e.*, not earlier than the first century A.D., and perhaps as late as the fourth century. This means that enough time had elapsed since the founding of the city to make possible the substitution of a fanciful interpretation for the right one, which had been forgotten in the course of the centuries. (2) There is an inaccuracy in Justin's etymology. His words are, "nam piscem Phœnices *sidon* appellant," but צדן does not mean *fish* in Phœnician. Can the testimony of a writer whose knowledge of the Phœnician language was so limited be accepted as conclusive? (3) It is a well-known fact that the ancients indulged their fancies in supplying etymologies for names of places and persons.[5] (4) Many ancient Semitic place or tribal names are closely connected with names of deities.[6]

But the question of correctness or incorrectness once raised, the popular etymology is seen to be not without difficulties.

[1] *Historiæ Philippicæ*, XVIII, 3; cp. also Isidorus Hispaniensis, *Etymologiæ*, XV, I, 28.

[2] Cp. *Beth-saida*, Matt. 11 : 21; Mk. 6 : 45, etc.

[3] Movers accepts the above given etymology, but, it would seem, with some misgivings; *Die Phönizier*, II, 1, p. 86, n. 8.

[4] Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, p. 436; Ed. Meyer, in *Encyc. Bibl.*, art. *Sidon*; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, I, p. 190.

[5] One need but mention a few illustrations from the Old Testament, *e.g.*, Babel, Gen. 11 : 9; Jacob, Gen. 25 : 26; etc. Cp. Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis*, p. 27.

[6] Cp. Ašur, Gad, Edom, etc.

(1) The root צוד, to which צדן, if interpreted "fishing" or "fish-town," must be traced, means in Hebrew *to hunt* animals or birds, and in this sense it is used literally and figuratively; nowhere in the Old Testament is it used with the meaning *to fish*. The same is true in Assyrian.[1] Only in Aramaic has the root the meaning *to fish*. This being the case, the history of the Semitic languages would favor the conclusion that the Hebrew and the Assyrian have preserved the original meaning of the root, and that the Aramaic marks a later development. If so, it is only natural to assume that in early Phœnician also the root had the meaning *to hunt*. If this assumption is correct, as it seems to be, צדן cannot be derived from צוד with the meaning "fish" or "fishing" or "fish-town." At a later time, when Aramaic had taken the place of Hebrew as the language of the people, and was therefore known more widely, it was quite easy to connect the name of a city whose inhabitants were fishermen with the verb צוד, meaning at that time *to fish*, and thus supply an etymology unwarranted by usage at an earlier period. (2) To this objection Winckler adds another.[2] If the popular etymology is correct, the city should have a name that might be interpreted like Beth-saida, "house of fishing" or "place of fishing"; but to express this idea the Semitic languages prefer a different formation. We would expect a word with the prefix מ, מצּיד, or something similar, but not a noun ending in ן.[3]

These considerations cast enough doubt on the commonly received interpretation to raise the question, whether or not a more satisfactory etymology can be found. To the present writer it seems that this question must be answered in the affirmative, and that the right solution is offered by the Phœnician religion. There was in the Phœnician pantheon a deity צד.

[1] Delitzsch, *Ass. Handwörterbuch*, צוד; in Arabic the verb is used in some of the stems with the meaning *to fish*; but the primary meaning in that language also is *to hunt*; Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch*, under root صيد.

[2] *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, p. 437.

[3] Cp. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, translated by Collins and Cowley, 86b.

Though we have no means of determining the proper pronunciation of this name, there is nothing to make it improbable that it was pronounced צֵד or צַד. True, there are no traces of the worship of this deity in Sidon, but it occurs as an element in Phœnician proper names in the place where one would expect the name of a deity,[1] and it is found in the combinations צדמלקרת[2] and צדתנת,[3] where again it can be explained only as a divine name; and there can be no doubt that צד denotes a deity worshiped independently at one time by the Phœnicians.

But how can this god be connected with צדן? Nowhere, apparently, does he appear as a deity of prominence. The chief deities of Sidon were עשתרת and אשמן.[4] The former is a deity found in some form in all Semitic religions,[5] the latter is peculiar to the Phœnicians, though he also may have his counterpart in the Babylonian-Assyrian pantheon.[6] צד is found nowhere outside of Phœnicia and the Phœnician "colonies," and there is nothing to indicate that in origin he is a Semitic deity. This being so, may we not assume that he, and perhaps other deities whose names may yet be discovered, is an inheritance from the pre-Phœnician inhabitants of the Mediterranean coast?[7] There are in the Sidonian pantheon deities adopted from Babylonia-Assyria, from Egypt, from Greece;[8] is there anything more natural than that we should find also some who were taken over from the predecessors of the Phœnicians along the Mediterranean coast?

On the site of the later Phœnician city of Sidon, or perhaps, more accurately, upon an island facing the promontory on which the present town is situated, the Phœnicians may have found on their arrival a sanctuary dedicated to צד, and a settlement whose tutelary deity was צד, and which was named in honor of its deity צד(ו)ן—belonging to צד = city of צד.[9] It

[1] C. I. S., I, 102*a*, 292. [2] C. I. S., I, 256. [3] C. I. S., I, 247–249.
[4] See below, p. 126. [5] See below, p. 127. [6] See below, p. 126.
[7] See below, p. 30. [8] See below, p. 126.
[9] Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, 86g.

is not improbable that there had grown up also on the opposite shore a village or town which, even in that early period, bore the same name.[1]

That צר is mentioned so few times may be due either to the fact that comparatively few inscriptions have been found, or, as seems more probable, to the fact that in time the non-Semitic deity was swallowed up by one or, as different sections preferred different deities, by several Semitic deities brought into the land by the Phœnicians.[2] At any rate, at a later time the connection of צדן with צר was forgotten, and popular fancy was appealed to to supply a suitable etymology. It is this etymology that is found in the traditions mentioned. This etymology also may be responsible for the introduction of between the first two radicals in the Hebrew form of the name. From this fuller form with י is derived the Arabic name of the modern town صيدا, as well as the name given to the city by the Occidental pilgrims and writers of the Middle Ages, *Sageta*, or *Sagitta*, or *Sajetta*, or *Sajette*, etc. There is undoubtedly some connection also between the name Sagitta and the Latin *sagitta* = arrow. The latter appears to have been the emblem of Sidon during the Crusades, for the coins of the Crusaders struck in Sidon bear the representation of this emblematic arrow.[3]

The use of the name צדן and the gentilic name צדני, pl. צדנם, is not confined to the city or to the inhabitants of the city. In a wider sense they are applied frequently to large portions of Phœnicia, and sometimes to the whole of Phœnicia and its inhabitants.[4]

A comparison of צדן = *S*idon with צר = *T*yre raises the interesting question why in the one case the emphatic sibilant has been retained, while in the other it has been transformed into a dental. The change must have been introduced by the Greeks,

[1] See further the next chapter.

[2] The transfer of the supremacy in the Babylonian pantheon to Marduk is similar in principle.

[3] *Rec. d'arch. or.*, III, p. 131.

[4] See further next chapter

from whom it passed to the Latin writers of the classical period; the old Latin has preserved the *S* in the noun *Sarra* (Tyre), and in the adjective *sarranus*. The reason for this may have been that the Sidonians came frequently into contact with the Greeks,[1] so that the latter heard from the lips of the former the proper pronunciation of the name Sidon. The same may not have been true of Tyre, which is first mentioned by Herodotus, and it is not impossible that he became familiar with the name in Egypt; at any rate, the Greek *Τύρος* corresponds to the Egyptian reproduction of צר, so that the perverted form of the name may have come into Greece by way of Egypt.[2]

[1] See below, p. 64.

[2] Krall, *Tyros und Sidon*, in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophischen-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, Vol. 116, pp. 692–694. The Arabic historian Yâkût, c. 1225, has left a note that by some the city was called *Irbil* (I, 189). The origin of this designation is unknown, but the name may be compared with the Assyrian *Arba-ilu*, the name of one of the cities in which Ištar was worshiped. As Aštart corresponds to Ištar, so Irbil, the city of Aštart, would correspond to Arba-ilu, the city of Ištar. With this may be compared און=אָוֶן in Am. 1 : 5, which may be the same as the name of the Egyptian city אוֹן in Gen. 41 : 45, 50; 46 : 20; see Eiselen, *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, New York, 1907, on Am. 1 : 5.

CHAPTER III

IS SIDON OLDER THAN TYRE?

It has been customary to look upon Sidon as the oldest city of Phœnicia,[1] or at least of the southern portion of Phœnicia.[2] The statements of Strabo[3] and others, that Tyre is the oldest city of the Phœnicians, and of Herodotus,[4] placing the founding of Tyre at about 2750 B.C., have been harmonized with this view by assuming that these traditions refer, not to the founding of the city, but to the first appearance of men upon the site of the later Tyre. Support for this explanation has been found in the statements of Josephus,[5] that Tyre was built 240 years before the building of the Temple, and of Justin,[6] that Tyre was founded by the Sidonians, which have been interpreted of a second "founding," thought to mark the origin of Tyre as a *city*.[7] "The first settlement upon the island Tyre," says Movers, "was, according to a definite statement,[8] a depot for merchandise, and therefore had a purpose and character entirely different from that of the settlement made by the Sidonians in connection with the Philistian War. Mythology also knows Tyre at first as a sanctuary and only later as a city, and distinguishes thus a twofold founding. According to Herodotus also, the Tyrian priests . . . . date the interval of 2300 years not from the building of the city, but from the time when the island was first inhabited."[9]

[1] Rawlinson, *The Story of Phœnicia*, p. 46.

[2] Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II, 1, p. 257.

[3] XVI, 2, 22; cp. Dionysius, *Orbis descriptio*, 911; Virgil, *Æn.*, IV, 670; Curtius, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, IV, 4, 19.

[4] *Historia*, II, 44.

[5] *Ant.*, VIII, 3, 1.

[6] *Historiae Philippicae*, XVIII, 3.

[7] Movers, II, 1, pp. 118ff., 166ff.

[8] Pomponius Sabinus, *ad. Æn.*, I, 12. "Phœnices condiderunt Tyrum in mari *propter merces*, primi mortalium negotiatores in marina alea."

[9] II, 1, p. 169.

This quotation from Movers expresses accurately the view held until quite recently by practically all historians, that the city of Sidon is older than the city of Tyre; indeed, that it is the oldest city in southern Phœnicia. The arguments in favor of this view are chiefly twofold: 1. The mention in the Old Testament of Sidon as the *firstborn* of Canaan.[1] 2. The peculiar usage of the terms *Sidon* and *Sidonians* in the Old Testament and in Greek writings. To these may be added, though of secondary importance: 3. The statements of Justin and Josephus, already alluded to, and 4. The contention found on Sidonian coins that Sidon is the metropolis (literally, the mother) of Tyre.[2]

The mention of Sidon as the firstborn of Canaan may be considered first. As long as Gen. 1–11 could be regarded as historically and scientifically accurate documents, as long as it was thought that Gen. 10 gave a truly scientific view of the distribution of the human race, written in the fifteenth century B.C.,[3] the statement in Gen. 10 : 15 could be considered as conclusive. But the modern view, which considers the chapter the product of a much later age, reflecting the geographical relation of the nations around the Mediterranean at the time of its writing, robs the statement of much of its value for the earlier period. All that can be inferred from the statement is that in the days of the author the city or state of Sidon[4] occupied, in the thought of the author, a more prominent position than any of the other sons of Canaan named in vv. 15–20; but this falls far short of establishing the claim that the *city* Sidon was the oldest city in Phœnicia.

The second argument rests upon the usage of the terms *Sidon* and *Sidonians*. Here it must be admitted that in individual cases it is not always easy to determine the exact force of the

[1] Gen. 10 : 15; cp. Josephus, *Ant.*, I, 6, 2.

[2] Gesenius, *Monumenta*, p. 264ff.; Schröder, *Die phön. Sprache*, p. 275; Müller, *Vier sidonische Münzen*, in *Sitzungs-Berichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXV, pp. 33–50.

[3] Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II, 1, p. 89; cp. p. 257.

[4] See below.

two terms. However, there can be no doubt that the words are used both in a narrow sense, of the city itself and its inhabitants, and in a wider sense, including other portions of Phœnicia and their inhabitants. This usage of the names in the wider sense, it is pointed out, is very early,[1] and therefore indicates the presence in remote antiquity of an historical situation in which Sidon was powerful enough to impose her rule and her name upon large districts outside of the city. Now, since in some cases the terms seem to include Tyre and the Tyrians, and since the city of Tyre is not mentioned until a much later period,[2] the usage clearly shows that the superiority in the beginning was with Sidon. The case becomes even stronger, the argument continues, and the greater antiquity of Sidon is placed beyond doubt when it is seen that the term Sidonian is practically equivalent to Phœnician.

In the Old Testament the terms *Sidon* and *Sidonians* occur in thirty-eight passages.[3] Of these only few refer to the city,[4] and of these probably not one is older than the seventh century B.C., when the city did occupy a prominent place; but testimony concerning the condition of the city in the seventh century and later is of little or of no value for a period a thousand years or more earlier. Indeed, it would seem that not until the time of the Chronicler[5] did the term *Sidonian* come to be restricted to the inhabitants of the city; before that time it was equivalent to *Phœnician*.[6] To denote the inhabitants of the city the phrase יושבי צדן was used.[7]

[1] Again Biblical passages assumed to be very early form the principal argument. [2] The earliest passage, according to this view, is 2 S. 5 : 11.

[3] Gen. 10 : 15, 19; 49 : 13; Dt. 3 : 9; Josh. 11 : 8; 13 : 4, 6; 19 : 28; Jdg. 1 : 31; 3 : 3; 10 : 6, 12; 18 : 7 (twice); 18 : 28; 2 S. 24 : 6; 1 K. 5 : 20; 11 : 1, 5, 33; 16 : 31; 17 : 9; 2 K. 23 : 13; Is. 23 : 2, 4, 12; Jer. 25 : 22; 27 : 3; 47 : 4; Ez. 27 : 8; 28 : 21, 22; 32 : 30; Joel 4 : 4; Zech. 9 : 2; 1 Chr. 1 : 13; 22 : 4; Ezra 3 : 7.

[4] Josh. 11 : 8; 19 : 28; Jdg. 1 : 31; Is. 23 : 2, 4, 12; Jer. 25 : 22; 27 : 3; 47 : 4; Ez. 27 : 8; 28 : 21, 22; 32 : 30; Joel 4 : 4; Zech. 9 : 2; 1 Chr. 22 : 4; Ezra 3 : 7.

[5] 1 Chr. 22 : 4; Ezra 3 : 7.

[6] Jdg. 10 : 12; 18 : 7; 1 K. 11 : 1, 5, 33; 16 : 31; 2 K. 23 : 13; Ez. 32, 30, cp. also C. I. S., I, 5.

[7] Jdg. 1, 31; Ez. 27 : 8. On the whole, the references in the historical

Homer is another writer who uses the words very frequently, if not exclusively, with the wider meaning. In *Il.* VI, 290, "Sidonian women" is undoubtedly equivalent to Phœnician women;[1] in *Il.* XXIII, 743, 744, Sidonian and Phœnician occur in parallel lines, and are to be understood as synonyms. *Od.*, IV, 617, 618, mention Phædimus, king of the Sidonians.[2] On first sight *Od.*, XIII, 285, appears to refer to the city, but an ancient *scholion* on this passage reads *Σιδονίην, τὴν τῆς Σιδῶνος χώραν, τὴν Φοινίκην*;[3] compare also XIII, 272, "the proud Phœnicians." In XIV, 288ff. he uses the terms Phœnician and Phœnicia; so also XV, 415ff.; the Phœnician woman of *l.* 417 is in 424 said to be of Sidon. IV, 83 mentions Phœnicia; *l.* 84 the Sidonians, not as a distinct people, but as the inhabitants of the former. In every passage in Homer Sidon or Sidonian may be interpreted in the wider sense.

books of the Old Testament throw very little light on the history of the city of Sidon. According to Gen. 10 : 19, Sidon (=Phœnicia) marked the northern boundary of Canaan; according to 49 : 3 the boundary of Zebulon. Deut. 3 : 9 contains an allusion to the dialect of the Sidonians (=Phœnicians). Josh. 11 : 8 mentions "great Sidon" as the place to which Joshua chased the Canaanites. In 19 : 28 "great Sidon" is named again, this time as the boundary of Asher. In 13 : 4 occurs the expression "Mearah, that is beside the Sidonians." Though the Giblites are named in the same passage, Sidonians seems to be used in the wider sense. In 13 : 6 Yahweh promises to drive out the Sidonians (= Phœnicians). Jdg. 1 : 31 states that Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of Sidon. Here the reference is possibly to the city. Not so in 3 : 3; the Sidonians (= Phœnicians) were left to prove the Israelites, and to teach them war. In all the other passages in the Book of Judges the reference is to Phœnicians; 10 : 6, the children of Israel served the gods of Sidon; 10 : 12, the Sidonians oppressed Israel; 18 : 17, the people of Laish dwelt carelessly after the manner of the Sidonians . . . . they were far from the Sidonians; 18 : 28, Laish was far from Sidon. In 2 S. 24 : 6 the reference may be to the city. The numbering of the people was made to the neighborhood of Sidon. The author of Kings uses the terms in the wider sense. In 1 K. 11 : 1, "women of the Sidonians" is equivalent to "Phœnician women"; 11 : 5 calls Ashtoreth the goddess of the Sidonians (= Phœnicians); cp. v. 33; 2 K. 23 : 13. 1 K. 17 : 9 mentions Zarephath as a city belonging to Sidon (=Phœnicia). Other passages in the historical books are considered below, p. 42.

[1] Cp. 1 K. 11 : 1.   [2] Cp. *Od.*, XV. 117.

[3] Quoted by Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II, 1, p. 94.

The same usage is found in later Greek and Latin writers. The Septuagint reproduces צידן in Is. 23 : 2, by Φοινίκη, צידנים in Dt. 3 : 9 by Φοίνικες; Pliny calls the Mediterranean *Phœnicium Mare*,[1] Dionysius[2] and Eustathius,[3] Σιδονία θάλασσα. On the same principle must be explained the interchange of Tyre and Sidon; Tyre is the city, Sidon is equivalent to Phœnicia, the land. Cadmus, for example, is frequently called a Tyrian,[4] at other times a Sidonian;[5] purple is called, now Tyrian,[6] now Sidonian.[7] Here must be reckoned also *Tyria vestis*[8] and *Sidonia vestis*;[9] *Tyria chlamys*[10] and *Sidonia chlamys*;[11] *Tyria palla*[12] and *Sidonia palla*.[13]

In the presence of this testimony there is no room for doubting that Sidon and Sidonian are very comprehensive terms, including at times Tyre,[14] at other times the whole of Phœnicia.[15] Does it demonstrate also that Sidon is the oldest city of the Phœnicians, more prominent politically than Tyre during the second millennium B.C., and that this political supremacy explains the wider use of the term?

Let it be admitted immediately that, in the absense of contradictory evidence, this would be a possible explanation of the twofold use of the terms. However, there are certain historical considerations, and the statements of a few Greek writers, which seem to point in a different direction. Unfortunately, thus far no Phœnician documents antedating the Tel-el-Amarna period have been brought to light; therefore we are dependent upon

[1] *Historia naturalis*, IX, 12.

[2] *Orbis descriptio, l.* 117.

[3] *Com. on Dion., l.* 117.

[4] Euripides, *Phœnissae*, 647, 48; Statius, *Theb.*, VII, 889. Ovid, *Met.*, II, 844, 45; III, 35, 36, 539. *Fasti*, I, 489, 90; V, 605, 6.

[5] Euripides, *Bacch.*, 1025; Ovid, *Met.*, III, 129; *Ex Ponto*, I, 377; Seneca, *Œdip.*, 710, 711; cp. also Virgil, *Æn.*, I, 446, 613; Statius, *Silvae*, IV, 2, 1.

[6] *Æn.*, IV, 262; Horatius, *Epod.*, XII, 21; Tibullus, II, *El.*, 4, 28.

[7] Tibullus, III, *El.*, 3, 18; Apollinaris Sidonius, *Carm.*, XV, 128.

[8] Tibullus, I, *El.*, 7, 47.

[9] Propertius, II, 13, 55 (edit. Burm.).

[10] Ovid, *Met.*, V, 51.

[11] Virgil, *Æn.*, IV, 137.

[12] Tibullus, IV, *Carm.*, 2, 11.

[13] Propertius, IV, 9, 47.

[14] Cp. also Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XLI, 40.

[15] Suidas, *Lexicon*, s.v. Σιδόνιος, Φοῖνιξ; Hesychius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Σιδόνιοι, Φοίνικες.

the contemporaneous records of foreign nations for reliable information concerning early events.

The early Egyptian records mentioning Tyre and Sidon by name are very few, but what weight they do have they cast in the balance against the greater antiquity of Sidon and its early political preëminence over Tyre. This is admitted even by Meltzer, who still adheres to the common view. "It must be noted," says he,[1] "that the Egyptian sources, so far as they are known to us, have yielded up to the present no support whatever for the theory indicated.[2] If one would draw inferences from their remarks concerning political preëminence, he must conclude that Arados occupied first place; then perhaps Tyre. Byblos is not even mentioned by name. Sidon is also mentioned only occasionally, and then without reference to the political situation."

The first mention of Sidon appears in Papyrus *Anastasi I*, of the thirteenth century B.C., which describes the voyage of an Egyptian into Syria, Phœnicia and Palestine. In this narrative Sidon is cited incidentally along with several other cities which, it would seem, the writer considered of little interest to the reader. More attention is given to Tyre, of which he says that it is a "city in the sea, harbor-Tyre is her name. Water is brought to her in ships. She has greater abundance of fish than of sand."[3] Some think that these words imply the existence of both the mainland Tyre and the island Tyre.[4] There are two other early records mentioning Tyre, while Sidon does not occur again. Seti I (1313–1292) names Tyre among his conquests, and on the reverse side of Papyrus *Anastasi III*, dated in the third year of Merneptah, mention is made of a letter addressed to the king of Tyre. The names of the Phœnician cities in the north are found more frequently; hence Krall

[1] *Geschichte der Karthager*, I, p. 20.

[2] The theory stated in the beginning of this chapter.

[3] W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 185.

[4] So. Krall, *Tyros und Sidon*, p. 637. It is questioned by Jeremias, *Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nebukadnezars*, p. 13.

seems justified in saying: "Judging from the Egyptian inscriptions, the most important Phœnician cities of this period—of the Thutmosites—are the north-Phœnician cities Byblos and Arados. The existence of Tyre cannot be established with certainty from the inscriptions belonging to the period of the Thutmosites. On the other hand, under the Ramessides, and that as early as Seti I, it stands out prominently; in the time of Merneptah is mentioned a king of Tyre whose territory was hardly limited to the city of Tyre itself. As early as the time of the Ramessides existed the so-called island Tyrus by the side of Palætyrus. As compared with Tyre, the other Phœnician cities occupy a secondary position. Finally, the city of Sidon plays no rôle whatever in the Egyptian inscriptions. Only once—if the middle group is rightly restored[1]—is she named in the Papyrus *Anastasi I*, of the period of the Ramessides. Of a powerful position of Sidon, even in the period of the Ramessides, it is not possible to speak on the basis of the results obtained thus far. It must belong after 1200 B.C.; how much later other sources must teach us."[2]

In the same direction points the testimony of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets. The collection contains two letters written by Zimrida, king of Sidon.[3] In several other letters—seven written by Rib-addi, king of Gebal,[4] seven by Abi-milki, of Tyre,[5] one by Abd-aširta, the governor of the land of the Amorites,[6] and one by the Pharaoh, addressed to Aziru, the son of Abd-aširta[7]—Sidon is accused of treachery against Egypt and her loyal vassals. In these letters also, reflecting conditions about the year 1400 B.C., there is not the slightest indication of the political superiority of

[1] Of the sign group denoting the city.

[2] *Tyrus und Sidon*, pp. 641, 642. This conclusion of Krall is accepted also by Jeremias, pp. 16, 17.

[3] B. 90 and B. 182. In the references to the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence B. stands for Berlin, L. for London. The former denotes the letters in the Royal Museum in Berlin, the latter those in the British Museum. The numbers are those given by Winckler, in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. V, *passim*.

[4] B. 43, 48, 50, 54, 77. L. 13, 14.

[5] L. 28, 29, 30, 31; B. 99, 162, 231.

[6] L. 44.

[7] B. 92.

Sidon; on the contrary, Tyre seems to occupy the more prominent position. To this contemporaneous evidence may be added the testimony of later writers. The author of Isaiah 23 calls Tyre a city "whose antiquity is of ancient days";[1] Herodotus places the founding of Tyre at c. 2750 B.C.,[2] which is a date much earlier than can be established for Sidon; Strabo[3] calls Tyre the most ancient city of the Phœnicians; Eunapius, the first city of the ancient Phœnicians;[4] similarly Virgil,[5] Curtius,[6] and Orosius.[7] The legends and myths of Phœnicia favor the same conclusion. This is admitted even by Movers, for he says: "In the Phœnician legends concerning the earliest times nothing is said of Sidon. The mythical history of Sanchuniathon, which records the founding of the oldest cities during the second mythological era, does not know Sidon in that period; only Byblos, Beyrut, and Tyre appear as the seat of the most ancient culture; and while to these cities were attached local myths in great numbers—a sure sign of the very high antiquity of these cities—Sidon seems to have been surprisingly poor in myths."[8] Tradition credits Tyre with the invention of ships,[9] of purple,[10] and with the earliest cultivation of vine and wheat.[11]

In view of this great mass of evidence it seems necessary to find an explanation of the peculiar usage of *Sidon* and *Sidonian* which is in accord with the practically unanimous opinion of antiquity that Tyre was a city of prominence before Sidon. At any rate, the usage of the terms cannot be considered a conclusive argument in favor of the earlier supremacy and greater antiquity of Sidon.[12]

The third argument rests upon the statements of Justin and

[1] v. 7. [2] *Historia*, II, 44. [3] *Geographica*, XVI, 2, 22.
[4] *Vita Porphyrii*, opening sentence. [5] *Æn.*, IV, 670.
[6] *Historia Alexandri Magni*, IV, 4, 19. [7] *Historia*, III, 16.
[8] *Die Phönizier*, II, 1, p. 254.
[9] Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XL, 501ff. Tibullus, I, *El.*, 7, 20.
[10] Eustathius, *Com. ad. Dionysium*, 911. Malala, p. 32 (ed. Dindorf).
[11] Achilles Tatius, II, 2; William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XIII, 1. [12] See further, p. 30ff.

Josephus. The latter asserts, on what authority is not known, that Tyre was founded 240 years before the building of the Temple;[1] the former has preserved a tradition that the Sidonians founded the island Tyre one year before the destruction of Troy, after they had suffered a serious defeat at the hands of the king of Ascalon.[2] When the chronological notes of the two authors are compared, it is found that they point to the same general period, a fact which would seem to add weight to the traditions. According to Josephus, 143 years and 8 months elapsed between the building of the Temple and the founding of Carthage.[3] If the latter is placed, as is commonly done, about the middle of the ninth century B.C.,[4] the alleged date of the founding of Tyre would be near the traditional date of the capture of Troy.

That these traditions embody memories of actual historical events affecting the fortunes of Tyre and Sidon cannot be doubted; on the other hand, the evidence presented in reply to the second argument makes it equally certain that Tyre was a city of prominence long before 1200 B.C., and, perhaps, that both the island and the mainland Tyre were in existence at that time. Consequently the traditions cannot be interpreted as implying a *founding* of Tyre, in any sense of that term. The historical fact underlying the tradition is the migration, at some period of Phœnician history, of a considerable number of Sidonians to Tyre, which migration resulted in the infusion of new life and energy into the latter. This event will be considered in another connection;[5] here it may be sufficient to state that, when interpreted in the light of trustworthy historical information, the tradition offers not the least support to the theory that the city of Sidon is older than the city of Tyre.

One other argument remains, namely, the contention, found on Sidonian coins of the period of the Ptolemies, that Sidon is

[1] *Ant.*, VIII, 3, 1.
[2] *Historiae Philippicæ*, XVIII, 3.
[3] *Cont. Ap.*, I, 18.
[4] But see below, p. 110ff.
[5] Below, p. 41 and p. 55.

the אם, the mother, or metropolis, of Tyre.[1] The expression undoubtedly voices the claim of Sidon to be the founder of Tyre. It should be noted, however, that Tyre set up the counter claim that she was the mother of Sidon.[2] We are confronted, then, with two contradictory claims; on the one hand, that Sidon is the mother of Tyre, on the other, that Tyre is the founder of Sidon. It is arbitrary to reject, without examination, one claim and uphold the other. On the face of them, both have equal value; which is to be preferred must be determined by such considerations as have been presented in the preceding pages. It must be remembered also that the coins are comparatively late, and that therefore caution must be exercised in the use of their testimony for the earliest period. The great bulk of testimony to which reference has been made discredits the claim of Sidon; it also discredits the claim of Tyre, for there is no evidence anywhere that Sidon was settled by the Tyrians. All the evidence points to the conclusion that the coins reflect the spirit of rivalry at a late period, when neither city enjoyed supremacy over the other, but when each was anxious to be recognized as supreme, and sought to strengthen its position by arrogant claims. In the same manner must be interpreted the more extravagant boasts that either Sidon[3] or Tyre[4] was the mother of the whole of Phœnicia.

To sum up, the theory that Sidon is the oldest city of Phœnicia, or that she is older than Tyre, and enjoyed political supremacy long before Tyre became a city of prominence, cannot be established by the arguments ordinarily advanced in its favor. They are successfully contradicted by the contemporaneous documents of other nations, by the testimony of later writers, and by the legends and myths of Phœnicia itself. While these do not

[1] See below, p. 111.

[2] See Gesenius, *Monumenta*, pp. 261–64. Tabl., 34, I. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache*, p. 275.

[3] Achilles Tatius, I, 1.

[4] Meleager of Tyre, in the epitaph of Antipater of Sidon, quoted by Movers, II, 1, p. 3.

fix the dates of the founding of either Sidon or Tyre, nor the relation of the two cities to one another in the earliest times, they do show that in antiquity Tyre was looked upon as the older of the two, and that the earlier political preëminence was with Tyre.[1]

[1] See further the next chapter, p. 30ff.

II. THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF SIDON

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING OF SIDON

The Sidon of the inscriptions, of the Old Testament, and of the classical writers was a city of the Phœnicians. From the mythology of the Phœnicians, as preserved in the fragments of Sanchuniathon's history, it would seem that the Phœnicians considered themselves autochthonous in the land which they occupied during the historical period.[1] The same idea is implied in Gen. 10 : 15ff. On the other hand, the more important classical writers touching upon this subject assert that the Phœnicians came to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean from southern Babylonia. Herodotus says[2] that the Phœnicians as well as the Persians believed that the original settlements of the former were upon the Erythræan Sea, *i.e.*, the Persian Gulf, and that they migrated from there to their later home. Strabo relates[3] that the inhabitants of certain islands in the Persian Gulf preserved the same traditions, and that they had temples which were Phœnician in character.[4] Justin describes[5] the early wanderings of the Phœnicians in these words: "The Syrian nation was founded by the Phœnicians, who, being disturbed by an earthquake, left their native land and settled first of all in the neighborhood of the Assyrian lake,[6] and subsequently

[1] Cp. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II, 1, p. 25ff.

[2] *Historia*, I, 1; VII, 89.

[3] *Geographica*, XVI, 3, 4.

[4] Clermont-Ganneau thinks, and perhaps rightly, that the introduction of the Phœnician names and customs in southern Babylonia, here alluded to, is to be connected with the transplanting of Phœnicians into these regions by Esarhaddon; *Journ. Asiatique*, 1892, Vol. I, p. 118. See below, p. 53.

[5] XVIII, 3; abbreviated from Trogus Pompeius.

[6] Probably to be identified with the Persian Gulf.

on the shore of the Mediterranean, where they built a city which they called Sidon, on account of the abundance of fish, for the Phœnicians call a fish *sidon*."[1]

With these statements of ancient writers agree the results of modern research. "The majority of modern critics," says Renan,[2] "admit it as demonstrated that the primitive abode of the Phœnicians should be placed near the lower Euphrates, in the midst of the great commercial and maritime establishments of the Persian Gulf, in accord with the unanimous (*sic!*) testimony of all antiquity." If the Phœnicians were Semites, as is universally admitted, there can be no doubt as to the correctness of this view; for, whatever one may think about the cradle of the human race or the original home of the Semites,[3] Arabia must be regarded as the region from which were distributed the different Semitic nations known to history. "All Semites are, according to my conviction, successive deposits of Arabians. They deposited themselves layer upon layer; and who knows which layer—*die wie vielte Schichte*—for example, were the Canaanites, whom we meet at the beginning of history."[4]

In the course of time Arabia became overcrowded, and its resources were not sufficient for the maintenance of the ever-increasing population. As a result the inhabitants were compelled to press out toward new districts which might offer more adequate sustenance. The most inviting fields were in the regions of the lower Euphrates and Tigris, near the head of the Persian Gulf; hence these were occupied first. As new groups pressed from behind, the early settlers found it necessary

[1] Movers questions, though without sufficient reason, the reliability of these reports, II, 1, p. 38ff. In the same place he mentions other ancient traditions concerning the origin of the Phœnicians, but these may be omitted here.

[2] *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 183.

[3] For different opinions on these two points see G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, Chap. 1, "The Cradle of the Semites."

[4] Sprenger, *Alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 293; cp. also Schrader, *Die Abstammung der Chaldäer und die Ursitze der Semiten, Z. D. M. G.*, XXVII, p. 397ff.; Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 8; McCurdy, *Hist., Proph., and the Monuments*, § 20. Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, I, 127.

to move farther, and since from southern Babylonia there is only one natural outlet, in a northwesterly direction between the Euphrates and Tigris, they turned thither in search of new homes, and finally advanced to the shores of the Mediterranean, whence they proceeded to the islands and coast lands beyond.[1] In the course of such wanderings all the western Semites, including the Phœnicians, reached the lands where we find them during the historical period. To mark clearly and definitely the beginning and end of the separate migrations may be a difficult and almost impossible task; nevertheless, broadly speaking, four migrations of this character may be distinguished: the Babylonian, beginning before 4000 B.C.; the Canaanitish-Phœnician, beginning c. 2800 B.C.; the Aramæan, beginning c. 1600 B.C.; and the Arabian, beginning c. 700 B.C.[2]

The Phœnician migration, then, began c. 2800 B.C., and during the years and generations and, perhaps, centuries following the Phœnicians established themselves on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. It must not be thought, however, that they found there a land uninhabited, or, if inhabited, filled with uncivilized barbarians. If, as there seems no reason to doubt, the Babylonians undertook, in the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C., warlike expeditions against the nations living then on the shores of the Mediterranean, and even crossed to the islands and countries beyond,[3] who can doubt that a millennium later an extensive population occupied the country called at a later time Phœnicia? "Should," says Ed. Meyer,[4] "the Babylonian archives at any time give us any authentic information regarding the expeditions of Sargon and Naram-Sin, we may expect to find that there was in Phœnicia in the fourth millennium a state of things more or less similar to what we find

[1] See below, p. 110.

[2] Winckler, *Gesch. Israels,* pp. 127, 128; *Altorientalische Forschungen,* I, p. 430ff. L. B. Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine, passim.*

[3] Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,* III, 1, p. 102ff.; cp. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria,* I, p. 365.

[4] *Encycl. Bibl.,* art. *Phœnicia.*

2000 years later when the Egyptians came to Asia." If this is true, and certainly there is no evidence to the contrary, we must assume that the Phœnicians came to a country that was in the possession of a considerable degree of civilization and culture, and that would imply, on the part of the ancient inhabitants, a recognition of the benefits of navigation and of the advantages presented by such locations as were occupied by the later Tyre and Sidon.

If Egypt and other nations had fleets before 3000 B.C., is it not absurd to suppose that the pre-Phœnician inhabitants of the eastern shore of the Mediterranean were blind to the advantages of navigation and of excellent harbor facilities? To this pre-Phœnician period, and to these pre-Phœnician inhabitants, we must assign the founding of Sidon, of Tyre, and of other settlements in the later Phœnicia.[1]

When the Phœnicians reached the shore of the Mediterranean, they found there a settlement bearing the name צדן, in honor of the god צד.[2] This they made their first stopping place; how long they remained there we cannot determine, perhaps a short time only. During the early stages of the conquest this settlement served as the religious and political centre of the new population. In order to secure the good will of the tutelar deity the Phœnicians adopted צד into their own pantheon,[3] and retained the ancient name of the town, צדן. From the city the name was transferred to the people who considered it

[1] It should be noted, however, that other prominent cities, like Tyre = צר = rock, Beyrut = בארות = fountains, Gebal = גבל = mountain, have good Semitic names. These may have had their origin with the Semitic conquerors who changed the more ancient names; cp. Jdg. 18 : 29; 1 : 17.

[2] See above, p. 13.

[3] A similar phenomenon is presented by the worship of בעל ברית in Shechem (Jdg. 8 : 33; 9 : 4), and by the constant tendency of Israel to worship the local Baals. That this tendency did not prevail in the end is due solely to the persistent efforts of the Yahweh prophets. Another illustration may be seen in the readiness with which Cyrus transferred his allegiance to Marduk after the capture of the city of Babylon; cp. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, 2, p. 120ff.

their religious centre, and צדנם became the name of the new Semitic immigrants. As the latter continued the conquest of the country the name went with them, until the conquerors came to be known everywhere as צדנם. It is not improbable that the name was applied to them first by the natives, who must have felt the need of a name for the newcomers; but in time, when, after the securing of a foothold, the conquerors found it necessary to distinguish themselves from the surrounding tribes and nations, they took over the name prompted, perhaps, again by the expectation that in doing this they might secure for themselves the special good will of the deity of the land.[1]

If this theory is correct, צדנם denoted originally the pre-Phœnician worshipers of צד, settled upon the site of the later Phœnician city of Sidon. From them it was adopted by the Phœnician conquerors, who made that district their first stopping place and, temporarily at least, their political and religious centre. As the conquest progressed all the invaders became known as צדנם, and from that time to the close of Phœnician history the name, while used also in the narrower sense of the inhabitants of the city, continued to be used with the broader tribal or national significance, equivalent to Φοίνικες,[2] a word coined at a later time by the Greeks.[3]

This view still leaves the Phœnician Tyre a Sidonian settle-

[1] It is true that this view is not based upon monumental evidence, which is not available for this early period. However, the present writer believes that it does complete justice to our knowledge of the early Semitic migrations and of the history of the Phœnicians in subsequent periods, as also to the traditions preserved by later writers. [2] See above, p. 17ff.

[3] The significance of Φοίνικες is still a matter of dispute. Eustathius (*ad Dionysium*, 912) suggests that Φοῖνιξ is connected with *φοινός, blood-red,* and so, that the name calls attention to the color of the people. Related to this word is the Latin *Pœnus*, a name applied to the inhabitants of Carthage. Rawlinson (*History of Phœnicia*, p. 1), following Movers, connects the name with *φοῖνιξ, the date palm.* "Here—the coast along the Mediterranean—it would seem, in their early voyagings, the pre-Homeric Greeks first came upon a land where the palm tree was not only indigenous but formed a leading and striking characteristic. . . . . Hence they called the tract Phœnicia, or 'the land of palms,' and the people who inhabited it Phœnicians, or 'the

ment, but not in the sense in which it is commonly thought to be such;[1] only in the sense that the Semitic immigrants soon extended their conquests from Sidon[2] and, probably not without desperate fighting, occupied Tyre, and transformed it into a Semitic city. To this event may refer the tradition preserved by Herodotus; if so, the date suggested by him must be considered approximately correct. But before long the superiority of the location of Tyre asserted itself, and in a little while Tyre surpassed Sidon, and maintained the leadership for many centuries, until after the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

In conclusion it may be said that, from the evidence at hand, it is not possible to determine the exact date of the founding of Sidon. It was founded by a pre-Phœnician population, not later than the close of the fourth millennium B.C., probably much earlier.[3] About 2800 B.C. Semites migrated from southern Babylonia and settled on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Sidon was their first conquest; they transformed it into a Semitic town, from which, as the political and religious centre, the complete conquest of Phœnicia was accomplished, when Sidon was displaced from its eminent position by the more fortunately situated Tyre.

palm-tree people.' " The principal weakness of this theory lies in the fact that in Phœnicia proper the date palm is found but rarely; and though the two words may have been connected at a later time, there is insufficient reason for assuming that such connection was recognized originally. By some the prototype of the name was thought to be the Egyptian *Fenḥ-u*, but W. M. Muller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 208ff.) has shown that this word is not the name of a nation, but a poetic designation of the Asiatic barbarians. Ed. Meyer (*Encycl. Bibl.*, art. *Phœnicia*) expresses the opinion that *φοῖνιξ* denoted first the purple, and then the purple-men, *i.e.* the men who manufactured purple, the Phœnicians. Neither these nor other interpretations suggested are quite satisfactory. The question remains still open. Cp. Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 13–17; Winckler, in *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, Dritte Auflage, p. 127; Guthe, in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyclopædie*, Band XVIII, p. 294.

[1] P. 23ff.

[2] Cp. Justin, XVIII, 3.

[3] There has been found near Sidon, in a depth of about six metres, a stratum of earth containing flint implements, fragments of coarse red clay and other primitive objects, which may indicate that the site of Sidon was inhabited as early as the stone age. *Am. Journ. of Archæol.*, I, p. 427; II, p. 477.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF SIDON TO THE CLOSE OF THE TEL-EL-AMARNA PERIOD

Sidon became a Phœnician city about 2800 B.C. During the progress of the Phœnician conquest the city may have served as the political and religious centre of the conquerors; but if so, this supremacy continued for a short time only. As soon as the entire land came under the control of the Semites, numerous city states sprang up along the coast. Indeed, with the possible exception of the period of the conquest, it is not possible to speak of a Phœnician state or a Phœnician nation during this early period. "Phœnicia, like Greece, was a country where the cities held a position of extreme importance. The nation was not a centralized one with a single recognized capital, like Judæa, or Samaria, or Syria, or Assyria, or Babylonia. It was, like Greece, a congeries of homogeneous tribes who had never been amalgamated into a single political entity, and who clung fondly to the idea of separate independence."[1]

The several Phœnician city states, prominent among which were Tyre, Sidon, Beyrut, Byblos, Arados, continued an independent existence for many centuries; at least no information to the contrary has yet come to light. Toward the close of the sixteenth century, however, the Egyptians, under Thutmos I,[2] began the conquest of Syria, including Phœnicia.[3] Thutmos III[4] followed in the footsteps of the first king bearing the name, and after a decisive victory over the Canaanites at Megiddo, in 1479,[5] most of the Phœnician cities appear to have submitted to him without resistance; only Simyra and Arados had to be

[1] Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia*, p. 64; cp. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II, 1, p. 83ff.; v. Landau, in *Der Alte Orient*, II, 4, p. 10; Gen. 10 : 15–18.

[2] Breasted, 1557–1501 B.C.

[3] Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 257ff.

[4] 1501–1447.

[5] Breasted, *History*, p. 284ff.

taken by force. The local princes became vassals, whose authority depended upon the good will of the Pharaoh; they had to pay tribute and supply provisions for the Egyptian armies, and their sons were educated at the court of Egypt. The supremacy of Egypt continued for less than a century, when under Amenhotep III[1] and Amenhotep IV,[2] who had no special interest in war, it declined and finally came to an end.

In none of the earlier Egyptian inscriptions is any mention made of Sidon. It would seem, therefore, that at that time it occupied only a secondary position among the cities of Phœnicia; much more prominent were the cities of the north. However, the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence shows that Sidon played a prominent rôle in the closing scenes of the Egyptian struggles. From the north the Hittites threatened the Egyptian possessions in Asia; associated with them were the wandering tribes of the Ḥabiri; and as the attack progressed several of the Syrian and Phœnician cities joined forces with the invaders against Egypt. The chief offenders among the Egyptian vassals appear to have been Abd-aširta, governor of Amurru,[3] and his son Aziru. Allied with these was Zimrida of Sidon, as is made very plain by the complaints sent against him to the Egyptian court. Rib-addi of Gebal again and again brings charges of disloyalty against the Sidonians and their king: "The ships and people of Simyra, Beyrut, Sidon, all of them in Amurru, as many as there are of them, press upon me."[4] In another letter, which gives a vivid picture of his desperate condition, the same king expresses a fear that his people, who were without food, would desert to the sons of Abd-aširta, and Sidon, and Beyrut.[5] He continues: "Behold, the sons of Abd-aširta are hostile to the king, and Sidon and Beyrut are not for the king."[6] A similar complaint is contained in B. 77: "Zimrida . . . . and Yapa-addu . . . . against me."[7] A little later he dispatches a letter

[1] 1411–1375.
[2] 1375–1358. Called also *Ikhnaton*.
[3] L. 44, *ll.* 30, 31.
[4] L. 13, *ll.* 12–15.
[5] B. 54, *ll.* 13–19; cp. B. 48, *ll.* 69–74.
[6] B. 54, *ll.* 19–23
[7] *ll.* 18, 19.

to the Pharaoh,[1] in which he calls attention once more to his distress, and complains bitterly about the treatment accorded to his messenger at court. Unless he receives immediate relief he must surrender the city. Only out of loyalty to the king does he undergo the present hardships, for his personal interests would be better served by following in the footsteps of other princes who had come to an understanding with the enemy. "If I would come to an understanding with Abd-aširta, like Yapa-addu and Zimrida, I would be saved."[2] B. 50 is another letter from Rib-addi, in which he calls attention to the fact that his letters and messengers have brought no response from the court. On the reverse side of the tablet are named the kings of Beyrut and Sidon and the king of another city,[3] but the text is almost illegible. It would seem that Rib-addi wrote to these kings,[4] and sent messengers to them,[5] asking for assistance,[6] which was refused. After five years of hardships and suffering, he addresses the king once more.[7] The occasion is the siege of Simyra. The enemy has approached to the very gates, though the city itself is still holding out. For five years has the conspiracy against him continued, one of the chief conspirators being Zimrida of Sidon. "Zimrida and all the other brethren—*i.e.*, the other princes—have fallen away from me, and they are fighting against Simyra."[8]

More serious complaints even are made by Abi-milki, the vassal king of Tyre. He never wearies of affirming his own loyalty to Egypt, nor of accusing Sidon of shameful treachery. One of his earliest letters is L. 29. The greater part of the epistle he devotes to the affirmation of his own loyalty, but he closes with these significant words: "Moreover, Zimrida, the Sidonian, day after day sends to him the rebel Aziru, the son of Abd-aširta, concerning all things which he hears from Egypt. Therefore I write to my lord, and it is well for him to know."[9] At a later stage of the conflict he makes this complaint:[10] "Be it

[1] L. 14. [2] *ll.* 24–27. [3] *ll.* 4–6. [4] *l.* 7. [5] *l.* 10.
[6] *l.* 17. [7] B. 43. [8] *ll.* 20, 21. [9] *ll.* 66–71. [10] L. 28, *ll.* 47–49.

known to the king: Although thou hast appointed me governor in Tyre, Zimrida has taken away Uzu.''[1] And again, ''Zimrida of Sidon, and Aziru, the rebel against the king, and the people of Arvad have consulted together and have formed a conspiracy, and have brought together their ships, their war chariots, and their *niru* soldiers, to take away Tyre, the maid of the king.''[2] Once more: ''Tyre they have not been able to capture, but Simyra they have taken. In the mouth of Zimrida is the command which the king sends to Aziru.''[3] From approximately the same period comes B. 231, in which the king reports the hostility of some of the neighboring princes: ''Behold the prince of the city . . . . and Zimrida are hostile toward me day and night.''[4] To a slightly later date belongs L. 30. Abi-milki expresses a desire to visit the court of the king; but, says he, ''I cannot on account of Zimrida of Sidon. As soon as he hears concerning me that I plan to go to the court, he undertakes hostilities against me.''[5] Toward the close of the letter he writes: ''I have learned of the crime of Zimrida, that he has brought together ships and soldiers out of the cities of Aziru . . . against me.''[6] Soon afterward he sends a pitiful appeal for speedy relief, because he is in desperate straits. Again Zimrida is one of the dreaded enemies. ''Behold the prince of . . . . in ships has come and the prince of Sidon in two ships, and I will go with all my ships and all . . . . And may the king care for his servant and protect . . . .''[7]

The loss of Uzu wrought great hardships for the inhabitants of island Tyre; hence Abi-milki pleads with the Pharaoh to bring about the restoration of the city, that he may secure there food and water: ''Since every day the king of Sidon takes away my *niru* soldiers, may the king incline his countenance to his servant, and give orders to his representative, that he may restore to me Uzu, for water to his servant, and to secure wood,

[1] Uzu was on the mainland, opposite the island Tyre, and supplied the latter with drinking water.

[2] *ll.* 53–63. [3] *ll.* 65–70. [4] *ll.* 14–16.

[5] *ll.* 10–14. [6] *ll.* 64–68. [7] L. 31, *ll.* 57–61.

and straw, and clay.''[1] And again: ''The king of Sidon and the king of Hazor has left his (city?), and they have allied themselves with the Ḥabiri.''[2] In the same strain he writes:[3] ''Since the troops of the king, my lord, have left me, the prince of Sidon, my brother, does not permit me to descend to the land, to get wood, and to get water for drinking purposes. One(?) man has he killed, and one(?) man has he not left alive(?).''[4]

A close alliance between Sidon and Aziru is implied also in B. 92, a letter written by the Pharaoh to Aziru, in which he rebukes the latter for his attitude toward Rib-addi of Gebal. Apparently the latter had sought refuge in Sidon, where he fell into the hands of Aziru. ''When he was in Sidon, thou didst deliver him up to the princes.''[5]

Often the Pharaoh must have wondered what were the real conditions in Syria and Phœnicia, who were his friends and who were his foes, for at the very time one vassal prince accused another of treachery, the accused would send to the court the most solemn affirmations of loyalty. One illustration of this is furnished by L. 44, a letter addressed by Abd-aširta to the Pharaoh. Though there can be no question that Abd-aširta was one of the chief conspirators against Egypt,[6] he in this letter humbly appeals, as a loyal vassal of the Pharaoh, for assistance against enemies threatening him from within and without. To strengthen his own position he accuses of treachery against the Pharaoh Sidon, which, according to the letters of Rib-addi and Abi-milki, had made common cause with Abd-aširta against Egypt. Though some parts of the letter are obscure, the general thought seems to be that three cities, the names of two of which have been preserved, had rebelled and were sending ships against

[1] B. 99, *ll.* 23–34. [2] *ll.* 40–43. [3] B. 162, *ll.* 11–21.

[4] This letter may belong to an earlier period. It does not imply necessarily the loss of Uzu. Abi-milki may mean only that the Sidonians sought to prevent the crossing of the channel. If Uzu was still a part of the territory of Tyre, this letter must be earlier than L. 28, which announces the loss of the city.

[5] *ll.* 12, 13. [6] B. 55, B. 48, B. 84, etc.

Amurru, over which Abd-aširta had been made governor by the king. He prays the king for protection, and urges him to place in these cities governors who will be ready to assist him against his own people, for they threaten to kill him. "And the people of Sidon and Beyrut, whose are these cities? Not the king's? Place one man in each city. And if he sends no ships to Amurru, then they—*i.e.*, the inhabitants of Amurru—will kill Abd-aširta. The king has placed him over them, not they themselves. Let the king give orders to the three cities, and to the ships of the governors, that they may not depart from Amurru, and take captive Abd-aširta."[1]

Zimrida also knew how to feign loyalty and obedience to the Pharaoh. B. 90 is a letter written to the latter by the king of Sidon. "To the king, my lord, my (great) god, my sun, the breath of my life; thus Zimrida, the governor of Sidon: At the feet of my lord, my god, the sun, the breath of my life; at the feet of my lord, my god, my sun, the breath of my life, seven and seven times I bow. Be it known to the king, my lord, that peaceful is Sidon, the maid of the king, my lord, which he has committed into my hand. And when I heard the message of the king, my lord, when he wrote to his servant, then was glad my heart, and I raised my head, and brightened my eyes, when I heard the message of the king, my lord. Be it known to the king, that I am at the command of the troops of the king, my lord. I carry out everything as commands the king, my lord, And be it known to the king, my lord, that powerful is hostility against me; all my cities which the king committed into my hands have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri. May the king place me in the hands (*i.e.*, under the protection) of him who marches at the head of the troops of the king, to demand the cities which have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri, and to restore them into my hand, that I may serve the king, my lord, as my fathers have done before."

B. 182 contains another letter of Zimrida. It is in such dam-

[1] *ll.* 23–35.

aged condition, however, that it is difficult to determine its meaning. It seems that he complains again about hostilities undertaken against him,[1] and that he promises to report on conditions in Amurru, in accord with the demand made upon him.[2]

From this correspondence these facts concerning Sidon may be learned: 1. Some time before the crisis reflected in the letters Sidon had become a vassal state of Egypt.[3] 2. The governorship passed from father to son.[4] 3. One of the kings of Egypt, probably Thutmos III, visited Sidon.[5] 4. Sidon did not enjoy any special preëminence over the other cities of Phœnicia. It was one of several city states along the coast; it may have controlled the surrounding villages,[6] but its territory was limited. The fact that Sidon was on the winning side may have given to it temporarily greater prominence than was enjoyed by the cities that shared the misfortunes of Egypt, *e.g.*, Tyre. 5. Sidon was one of the first to throw off the Egyptian yoke, and was among the most active foes of the Pharaohs.

Aside from these few facts nothing is known concerning the fortunes of Sidon from the time of the Phœnician conquest to the close of the Tel-el-Amarna period.

[1] *l.* 14. [2] *ll.* 23ff. [3] B. 90, *ll.* 33, 34. [4] *ib.*

[5] B. 48, *ll.* 69–73. "Since thy father has returned from Sidon, since that time the lands have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri."

[6] B. 90, *ll.* 24, 25.

CHAPTER III

TO THE DESTRUCTION OF SIDON BY ESARHADDON

CONCERNING the events in Phœnicia during the centuries immediately following the crisis reflected in the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence no direct information has been preserved. It is not improbable that, for a short time at least, the overlordship of the Egyptians was exchanged for that of the Hittites, who during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. established themselves in northern Syria.[1] The exact boundary line between the two nations is not defined in the treaty entered into by Rameses II in 1272, but it is certain that neither he nor his successors could compel the allegiance of the Phœnicians.

The character of the Hittite rule over the coast cities, if it existed, is not known. However, we may safely assume that it did not interrupt the steady, natural development of Sidon and the other Phœnician cities. To the thirteenth century belongs the mention of Sidon on the Papyrus *Anastasi I*,[2] but it throws no light upon conditions in the city.[3]

With the great movements among the nations bordering on the Mediterranean Sea which occurred at about this time,[4] Krall connects the tradition of Justin.[5] "The tradition should perhaps be interpreted in this wise: The island Tyre, which,

[1] For the conflicts of Rameses II with the Hittites see Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 425ff. On p. 425, 1388 should be 1288 B.C.

[2] See above, p. 21.

[3] The references to Tyre and Sidon in the early Egyptian inscriptions are so few in number that from them no inference can be drawn concerning the relation of the two cities to each other. Tyre appears to have been more prominent, but there is insufficient warrant for the contention of Jeremias, *Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nebukadnezars*, p. 16, that Sidon was at this time a dependency of Tyre.

[4] Cp. Breasted, *History*, p. 477ff.

[5] *Historiæ*, XVIII, 3; see above, p. 24.

not expecting an attack from the sea, was without strong fortifications in ancient times,[1] was overrun in the course of these movements by nations that possessed a powerful navy. After this catastrophe the city received additions from Sidon, which at this time was probably still a part of the territory of Tyre. However that may be, so much is certain: that here Sidon appears for the first time in Phœnician history; not the close of a long and glorious activity of Sidon lies here before us, but the first beginning of an independent government of the city."[2] In favor of this interpretation of Justin's tradition is the fact that the date of the migrations of the nations corresponds, approximately at least, with the date of the building of Tyre suggested by Justin and Josephus.[3] On the other hand, it does not explain the part played by a king of Ascalon in the driving out of the Sidonians, nor does it furnish any evidence to prove the assumption that Tyre suffered in the manner described. Until such evidence is brought to light the theory of Krall must, to say the least, remain exceedingly doubtful.[4]

While the Hittites were establishing themselves in northern Syria, a kingdom was forming between the Euphrates and Tigris which was destined to overthrow the Hittite rule. The Assyrians crossed the Euphrates for the first time c. 1300 B.C., under Šalmaneser I.[5] However, the west was not seriously threatened by them until nearly two centuries later. About 1120 B.C., Tiglathpileser I, "the grand monarch of western Asia in his day," came upon the throne. He marched westward and subdued "the Kaški and the Urumi, people of the land of Hatti."[6] He also calls himself "the conqueror from the great sea of the westland—*i.e.*, the Mediterranean—to the sea of the land of the Nairi."[7] Silence concerning the cities of Phœnicia warrants the assumption that he did not come into direct hostile contact with them during these expeditions. His successor

[1] Cp. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II, 1, p. 221.

[2] *Tyrus und Sidon*, p. 672; cp. Jeremias, *Tyrus*, p. 17.

[3] See above, p. 24.

[4] For a more satisfactory interpretation see p. 55.

[5] Rogers, *Hist.*, II, p. 13.

[6] I R. 10, Col. II, *ll.* 100, 101.

[7] III R. 3, No. 6; *ll.* 58–60.

Ašur-bel-Kala has left only one short inscription,[1] in which he alludes to the gods of the land of Martu[2]—*i.e.*, the land of the Amorites, which is Syria, an allusion which may point to his control of the west.[3]

Following the death of Tiglathpileser I, Assyria was ruled for nearly two centuries by weaklings, and nothing is heard of military expeditions against the westland. As a result, the western states enjoyed peace, and entered upon a period of great political activity. During these centuries the Hebrew kingdom was born, and the kingdom of Damascus came into being. The Phœnicians also remained undisturbed, and now for the first time do we read of a powerful Phœnician state under the rule of Hiram, king of Tyre, about 980 B.C.[4] Though Hiram bears the title king of Tyre, his subjects are called Sidonians.[5] This peculiar usage must be explained as suggested above,[6] and the phrase implies that he controlled some portions of Phœnicia outside of the city of Tyre. That his rule included Sidon can be neither proved nor disproved. The expression itself does not imply it, and there is not the slightest indication anywhere that he was recognized as the king of Sidon, or that he made any move toward displacing the legitimate king of the latter city.[7] Tyre was nearer to the territory of the Israelites than any other prominent city of Phœnicia; hence it was only natural that they should look upon it as the representative city of the Phœnicians. The most that may be inferred from the Biblical statements is that Sidon occupied at this time a secondary position. That

[1] I R. 6, No. 6. [2] *ll.* 6, 7.

[3] So Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, p. 33; Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Ser., VI, p. 78. Jeremias thinks that the reference is to Martu in Elam.

[4] 2 S. 5 : 11; 1 K. 5 : 15; 9 : 11; 1 Chr. 14 : 1; 2 Chr. 2 : 2; 2 : 10; cp. 1 K. 9 : 12.

[5] 1 K. 5 : 20; cp. 11 : 1, 5, 33. [6] P. 17ff.

[7] Cp. v. Landau, *Der Alte Orient*, II, 4, p. 19. The statements of Eupolemus, quoted by Eusebius in *Præparatio Evangelica*, that Hiram was king of Tyre and Phœnicia (IX, 30), or king of Tyre, and Sidon, and Phœnicia (IX, 33), mark a later attempt to combine the statements in *Kings*, the full force of which was not understood.

Tyre showed unusual activity need not be denied,[1] but the probability is that Sidon continued to prosper as an independent city state, though perhaps on a smaller scale than her more fortunately situated sister.

The next historical reference to Sidon takes us to the reign of Ašurnaṣirpal of Assyria.[2] In 876 he undertook his first expedition westward. Of it he has left this account: "At that time I occupied the slopes of the Lebanon. To the great sea of the westland I marched. By the great sea I hung up my weapons. I offered sacrifice to the gods. The tribute of the kings of the coasts of the sea, of the Tyrians, the Sidonians, the Gebalites, the Makhallatians, the Maizians, the Kaizians,[3] the people of the westland, and of Arvad in the midst of the sea, silver, gold, lead, copper, plates of copper, variegated clothes, linen vestments, a great *pagutu*, and a small *pagutu*, *Ušu* wood, *Urkarinu* wood, ivory, a porpoise, the offspring of the sea, as their tribute I received. They embraced my feet."[4] Ašurnaṣirpal did not follow up this victory. When he had collected the tribute, he proceeded to cut down building material, which he carried to Nineveh, and the remainder of his reign was devoted to works of peace. The payment of the tribute to Ašurnaṣirpal is the first illustration of the policy which the Phœnician cities practiced quite consistently for several centuries. Rather than suffer their commercial enterprises to be interfered with, they were ready to sacrifice, without a blow, their political independence. The noteworthy fact about the above inscription is that Sidon is mentioned as one of the several independent cities of Phœnicia.[5]

[1] Josephus, *Cont. Ap.*, I, 18.

[2] 885–860 B.C.

[3] Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 282, suggests that the three cities, Makhalla, Maiz, and Kaiz, formed the later Tripolis; cp. Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Ser., II, p. 172, note 1; but Winckler (*Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, Dritte Auflage, p. 41) calls them "three otherwise unknown cities."

[4] I R. 24, Col. III, *ll.* 84–88.

[5] To the period of Ašurnaṣirpal belongs Ethbaal, king of Tyre—1 K. 16 : 31—called by Josephus (*Contra Ap.*, I, 18) Ithobalos.

Von Landau assumes,[1] partly on the basis of the statements of Josephus,[2] that toward the close of the tenth century B.C. the government of Tyre and Sidon had passed from the dynasty of Tyre to that of Sidon, which, he thinks, had suffered almost complete eclipse under Hiram and his immediate successors. In the passage mentioned, Josephus, quoting from Menander,[3] says: "After the death of Hiram (חרם), Balbazerus (בעלעזר), his son, took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years. He was succeeded by his son Abdastartos (עבדעשתרת), who lived twenty-nine years and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him and slew him, the oldest of whom, Methusastartos (מתועשתרת or מתעשתרת = אמתעשתרת; so Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 319), the son of Leastartos (עשתרת . . .), became king; he lived fifty-four years and ruled twelve. After him came his brother Astharymos (. . . עשתרת ?), who lived fifty-eight years and reigned nine years. He was slain by his brother Phelles (פעל-עשתרת?), who took the kingdom and reigned eight months, having lived fifty years. Him killed Ithobalos (אתבעל), the priest of Astarte, who lived forty-eight years and reigned thirty-two years." Does this account throw any light on the history of Sidon? Von Landau insists that it does, and his argument is as follows: He starts with the assumption that Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon, subdued Sidon. Now Ithobalos is called priest of Astarte; but, says he, Astarte (= Aštart) is the principal deity of Sidon, hence Ithobalos must be a member of the dynasty of Sidon.[4] As a further inference he sees in the assassination of Phelles by Ithobalos a revolution of Sidon against the dynasty of Tyre, which resulted in the supplanting of the latter by the dynasty of Sidon. This is a very bold conjecture. The worship of Aštart was by no means

[1] *Der Alte Orient*, II, 4, pp. 19, 20.

[2] *Contr. Ap.*, I, 18.

[3] The translation is based upon the Greek text edited by Niese, Vol. V, p. 22.

[4] Tabnit and Ešmunazar I are called priests of Aštart in the inscription of Tabnit, *ll.* 1, 2; and the mother of Ešmunazar II is called a priestess of Aštart.—Inscription of Ešmunazar, *l.* 15.

confined to Sidon, and it is worthy of note that the names of two, perhaps three, of the kings enumerated by Josephus contain the name of the deity Aštart—Abd-astartos, the grandson of Hiram, Methusastartos, the usurper, and, perhaps, Astharymos, his brother; it is found also in Leastartos. Underlying the theory is the false assumption that Hiram and his immediate successors were kings of Sidon as well as of Tyre. In reality there is not the slightest ground for believing that at any time during this period Tyre and Sidon were united under one king.

The son and successor of Ašurnaṣirpal, Śalmaneser II,[1] undertook several expeditions against the westland. The account of one of these, undertaken in 842, contains this statement: "At that time I received the tribute of the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and of Jehu, the son of Omri."[2] Evidently the people of Tyre and Sidon had resumed their commerce, and in order to prevent the interruption of their enormous profits, they were quite ready to pay the tribute demanded of them. In 839, the twenty-first year of his reign, Śalmaneser led another army against the westland, and again we read: "The tribute of the Tyrians, the Sidonians and the Gebalites I received."[3]

It is not likely that the Assyrian expeditions interfered very seriously with the activities of Sidon and the other Phœnician cities, or with their practical independence. The Assyrian conquerors made no attempt to establish a permanent government in the west, and the tribute imposed was probably very insignificant, when compared with the immense income of the merchant cities.

Adad-nirari III[4] undertook, according to the brief notes in the Eponym canon, at least two expeditions against the west,[5] but no details are given there. In one inscription he makes this

[1] 860–825.

[2] III R. 5, No. 6, *ll.* 63–65.

[3] *Black Obelisk*, Col. II, *ll.* 103–104; see Abel und Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 10.

[4] 811–783.

[5] The Eponym canon speaks of an expedition against Arpad in 806, of one to the sea coast in 803; see *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, I, p. 208.

claim: "From beyond the Euphrates, the land of the Hittites, the westland in its entirety, Tyre, Sidon, the land of Omri, Edom, Philistia, to the great sea of the setting sun, I subjected unto my feet; tribute and taxes I imposed upon them."[1] The king sets up the claim here that he *subjected* Sidon; it is not improbable, however, that he means to say nothing more than that the city paid tribute, as on former occasions.

Following the reign of Adad-nirari, the power of Assyria declined for about forty years, during which period the western states had a breathing spell, and were able once more to pursue, unmolested, their own policies. Now, if ever, Tyre had the opportunity to assert her supremacy, and it is not impossible that she was successful. In 745 the great warrior Tiglathpileser III came to the throne of Assyria, who in a short while resumed operations in the west, which had been discontinued under his immediate predecessors. As early as 743 he marched westward, directing his attack against Arpad, which fell after a desperate struggle lasting three years.[2] When Arpad fell, the kings of the neighboring nations, with one exception, Tutamma, king of the Unḳi, brought presents, among them Hiram of Tyre.[3] No mention is made of Sidon. In 738 the Eponym canon locates Tiglathpileser again in northern Syria; again he was victorious, and again did Hiram of Tyre and other princes pay tribute. "The tribute of Kuštašpi of Kummukh, Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram (Ḥi-ru-um) of Tyre, Sibitti-bi'li (שבעתבעל?) of Gebal . . . . I received."[4] Again no mention is made of Sidon. To maintain a more permanent hold on the west, Tiglathpileser organized a Phœnician province, which he placed under the control of his son Šalmaneser.[5] In 734 he is found once more

[1] I R. 35, No. 1, *ll.* 11–13.

[2] See *Eponym canon*, years 743–740; *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, I, p. 212.

[3] G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 274, *ll.* 10ff. This is the Hiram mentioned in C. I. S., I, No. 5, as king of the Sidonians, = Phœnicians; see below, p. 153.

[4] III R. 9, *ll.* 50ff.

[5] Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, p. 4, cp. p. 67; *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch*, p. 35.

on the shores of the Mediterranean,[1] and it is not improbable that to this period should be assigned the expedition against Tyre recorded in II R. 67, *l.* 66. "The Rabšaḳe I sent to Tyre; from Metena (מתן) of Tyre I received 150 talents of gold." This expedition must have taken place after 738, for Hiram had been succeeded by Metena; but it is not possible to locate it more definitely. Perhaps Tyre had grown restless under the rule of Šalmaneser during the crisis of 734, and Tiglathpileser had dispatched the army to quell the revolt. Jeremias is inclined to place the expedition in the closing years of Tiglathpileser's reign, in 728 or 727.[2]

The one interesting feature in all these inscriptions is the absolute silence of Tiglathpileser concerning Sidon. It is not credible that the Assyrian monarch, who is exceedingly careful in the enumeration of his conquests, should have omitted Sidon in at least three separate inscriptions by accident. It is much more natural to interpret the silence as an evidence that at last Tyre had succeeded in establishing her supremacy in southern Phœnicia, and that at this time the king of Tyre was also the king of Sidon, the royal residence being in Tyre.

Little can be learned from the inscriptions concerning conditions in Sidon during the reign of Šalmaneser IV.[3] This king may have been in the west in 727,[4] and between 724 and 722 he warred against Israel,[5] but, so far as we know, he did not come into direct conflict with the cities of Phœnicia.[6] However, according to the present text of Josephus,[7] Menander places in the reign of Šalmaneser a five-year siege of Tyre, during which the Assyrian king was assisted by several Phœnician cities, among them Sidon. The account in Josephus reads: "And

[1] *Eponym canon*, year 734. [2] *Tyrus bis zur zeit Nebukadnezars*, p. 29.

[3] 727–722. [4] *Babylonian Chronicle*, B., *l.* 28. [5] 2 K. 18 : 9, 10.

[6] The inscription translated by Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, p. 15, which mentions a tribute imposed upon Tyre by Šalmaneser, does not prove the contrary. It refers in all probability to a tribute imposed while he was viceroy of Phœnicia, during the reign of Tiglathpileser.

[7] *Ant.*, IX, 14, 2.

Elulæus (? . . . אל ?) reigned thirty-six years (in Tyre).[1] This king, upon the revolt of the Cittians, sailed against them and reduced them again to submission. In warring against him, Selampsas, the king of Assyria, overran all Phœnicia. Soon, however, he made peace and returned home. Then Sidon, Acco, and Palætyrus revolted, and many other cities, that joined themselves to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king fell upon them again, the Phœnicians furnishing sixty ships and 800 men to row them." The account then narrates the victory of the Tyrian ships and the subsequent five-year siege of the island Tyre.

This narrative would seem to lend support to the conclusion, drawn from the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser, that Tyre had acquired the supremacy over Sidon and other Phœnician cities.

[1] The meaning of the words *θεμένων αὐτῷ Πύας ὄνομα*, which follow the name Ἐλουλαῖος, is uncertain. The grammatical construction is peculiar, and the identification of Ἐλουλαῖος with Πύας is precarious. The words are omitted in the old Latin version, and should probably be regarded as a later interpolation. Πύας or Πύλας, as the name is written in some MSS., resembles the Babylonian name Pul = Tiglathpileser III, and v. Landau, *Beiträge*, I, pp. 14, 15, suggests that he is meant here. If so, the words cannot be in their proper place, and v. Landau places them after Τυρίων ἀρχαίοις in the preceding paragraph, and makes Josephus say that in the Tyrian archives the name of the king was given as Πύλας. If now Σελάμψας is identical with Šalmaneser, Josephus names two distinct kings as leading the expedition against Tyre. This difficulty leads v. Landau to assume that Josephus combines here erroneously accounts which referred to distinct events, and that he represents as one expedition the undertakings of two or more kings. It is incredible that Josephus should make this blunder *with the two names before him*. Now it is worthy of note that until the publication of Niese's text the name of the Assyrian king was not recognized; on the other hand, the old Latin version names Šalmaneser, while it has no equivalent of Πύλας. These facts suggest the proper explanation. The authors of the Latin version still saw a proper name in Σελάμψας, but soon the text became corrupted, so that the reader could recognize no longer the name of the Assyrian king. Some learned reader sought to supply the want by adding in the margin the clause containing the alleged name of the Assyrian king. This marginal note was later inserted in the wrong place. It is not Josephus who made the blunder, but a zealous reader. With the marginal note omitted, the reading becomes natural and smooth.

That the Sidonians should resent the Tyrian rule is only natural; nor is it difficult to see why the Assyrian king should spare no efforts to increase the discontent, break up the union, and thus reduce the strength of Tyre. Josephus relates how he succeeded in separating from the king of Tyre, Sidon, Acco, and even Palætyrus—*i.e.*, the city upon the mainland[1]—and secured their support for the attack upon the island Tyre. Nevertheless, Tyre was too strong and defeated the plans of the allies.

That the tradition preserved by Josephus rests upon historical facts cannot be doubted; on the other hand, it may be seriously questioned, whether the attack upon Tyre reported by him can be placed in the reign of Šalmaneser.[2] 1. The form of the king's name is peculiar. It is difficult to explain Σελάμψας as a corruption of Σαλμανασάρης or Σαλμανάσσης, the form used by Josephus in other passages.[3] *A very serious corruption must be assumed.* Why not restore Σεναχείριβος = Sennacherib?[4] The first two letters of this name are identical with the first two letters of the name in the present text. If Menander wrote originally Σεναχείριβος, the name reached Josephus in a corrupted form. 2. The cautious statement of Josephus suggests that he cherished some doubts on this point. In introducing the quotation he makes the significant statement that the name of the king is preserved in the Tyrian archives. Though he evidently identified Σελάμψας with Šalmaneser, he seems to have some misgivings. 3. Sennacherib mentions a king of Sidon named Luli, which is the Assyrian form of Ἐλουλαῖος. 4. There is no room during Šalmaneser's reign for the events described by Menander. Šalmaneser ascended the throne of

[1] The same as *Uzu* in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets; see above, p. 36.

[2] George Smith, *History of Sennacherib*, pp. 69, 70. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, I, p. 467. Jeremias, *Tyrus*, p. 31ff. V. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orient*, I, p. 5ff.

[3] *Ant.*, IX, 13, 1; IX, 14, 1.

[4] The fact that the old Latin version reads Šalmaneser—cp. Schrader, *Z. A.*, I, 126—proves nothing. It may be as much of a guess as the gloss of the annotator.

Assyria in the month of Tebet, 727.[1] During the remainder of the year he could not possibly have "overrun all Phœnicia." In 726 he remained at home.[2] In 725 or 724 he marched against Samaria and besieged it. This struggle demanded his best efforts during the remainder of his life. When could he find the time, with this troublesome task on his hand, or secure the resources to war against Tyre in the manner described by Menander? Besides, he died in 722; in other words, while the siege of Tyre would have been still in progress. If so, it is strange that no mention is made of the accession of the usurper Sargon. 5. The events described by Menander fit admirably in the campaigns of Sennacherib, as recorded by the Assyrian king;[3] indeed, unless we identify the campaign against Tyre recorded by Menander with that of Sennacherib, we must assume that practically the same events took place twice within one brief lifetime.

These considerations are of sufficient weight to justify the conclusion that Josephus is describing, in the passage quoted, events which took place during the campaigns of Sennacherib,[4] and the assumption that during the reign of Šalmaneser conditions in Phœnicia remained as they were under Tiglathpileser III; in other words, Tyre continued to exercise control over the cities in southern Phœnicia, including Sidon. This state of affairs continued during the reign of Sargon II.[5] He calls himself "the mighty in battle, who fished the *Ia-am-na-a-a* . . . . like fish out of the midst of the sea, and pacified Ḳue and Tyre."[6] The meaning of the inscription is somewhat obscure;[7] all we need to note here is the silence concerning Sidon.

Sidon reappears in the inscriptions of Sennacherib,[8] in a manner

[1] *Babylonian Chron.*, B., Col. I, *ll.* 27, 28.

[2] The Eponym canon contains the note *ina mati.*

[3] See below, p. 51f.

[4] Less probable is the view of v. Landau, *Beiträge*, p. 9ff.; cp. also Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, p. 65ff., that Josephus refers to three campaigns—the last campaign of Tiglathpileser, the campaign of Sennacherib, and that of Esarhaddon.

[5] 722–705 B.C.

[6] I R. 36, *l.* 21.

[7] Cp. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, p. 68.

[8] 705–681 B.C.

which gives additional support to the view that during the latter part of the eighth century B.C., Sidon was subject to Tyre. The western campaigns of the great king are recorded in several inscriptions. Concerning his expedition against Sidon he says: "'And Luli,[1] king of Sidon, retreated before my attack; to Cyprus, which is in the midst of the sea, he fled, and sought refuge in that country. In the might of the weapons of Ašur, my lord, I took possession of his country. Tuba'lu (אתבעל) I placed upon his royal throne, and I imposed upon him the tribute of my lordship.'"[2] Another inscription reads: "From Luli, the king of the city of Sidon, I took away his kingship. Tubalu I placed upon his throne, and I imposed upon him the tribute of my lordship."[3] The most extensive reference to Sidon is in the so-called *Taylor Cylinder*.[4] There Sennacherib says: "In my third campaign I marched to the land of the Hittites. Luli, the king of Sidon, was overcome by the fear of the splendor of my royalty and fled far away to the sea, and there made his abode. Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-zitti, Ṣarepta, Makhalliba, Ušu,[5] Ekdippa, Acco, his powerful cities, fortresses, pastures, and cisterns, and his fortifications, the power of the weapons of Ašur, my lord, overcame and cast at my feet. Tubalu I placed upon the royal throne over them, and I imposed upon him the tribute of my lordship, yearly and unchangeable."[6] Among the kings who "brought rich presents, heavy gifts, with merchandise," and kissed his feet, he names Tubalu of Sidon.[7] Additional information is furnished by *Bull Inscription* No. 4, a variant from which

[1] The name corresponds to the Ἐλουλαῖος of Josephus; see above, p. 48.

[2] *Bull Inscriptions* 2 and 3, *ll.* 17–20; see G. Smith, *History of Sennacherib*, pp. 67, 68.

[3] I R. 43, *ll.* 13, 14.

[4] See Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 4th ed., p. 54ff.

[5] The same as *Uzu* of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets and *Palætyrus* of Josephus, the mainland Tyre; for Great Sidon and Little Sidon see above, p. 9; Ṣarepta and Acco are two well-known cities; Ekdippa (written *Ak-zi-bi*) is situated on the coast between Tyre and Acco; the location of the other two is not yet determined.

[6] Col. II, *ll.* 34–46.

[7] *Ibid.*, *l.* 48.

is given by G. Smith.[1] There the statement is made that Luli fled "from the midst of Tyre to Cyprus, which is in the midst of the sea."[2] Instead of "from the midst of Tyre," III R. 12, *l.* 18 reads simply "from the westland."

What seems to be the historical situation presented by these inscriptions? Luli, though called king of Sidon, had his royal residence in Tyre.[3] From there he ruled Tyre, Sidon, and the other cities named by Sennacherib. When all the cities of Luli, with the exception of the island Tyre, had been taken, he began to fear for his personal safety and fled to Cyprus. One can readily notice the striking similarities between these narratives and the account of Menander. In the further progress of the events recorded by the latter, so far as they concern Tyre, we have no interest here; there is, however, every reason to believe that the attack upon Tyre, in which the king was aided by the Phœnician cities, quite ready to turn against their rival and former lord, and the long siege of the city took place subsequent to the events recorded by Sennacherib.[4]

The calamity which befell Tyre at this time resulted in good for Sidon. The Assyrian kings would find it advantageous to play the western states against one another, so as to prevent the formation of a powerful alliance. It is not improbable, therefore, that, temporarily at least, Assyria favored and encouraged the development of Sidon. At any rate Sidon remained independent of Tyre; and it would seem that the cities which, with Sidon, had formerly belonged to Tyre, were transferred to Tubalu.[5]

Sometime before the death of Sennacherib Abdimilkuti (עבדמלכת) succeeded Tubalu, who apparently remained faithful to his overlord throughout his entire reign. Whether or not

[1] *History of Sennacherib*, p. 54.

[2] Cp. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, II, p. 90, note 12.

[3] Cp. Schrader, in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1892, p. 341.

[4] On the subsequent fortunes of Tyre see Jeremias, *Tyrus*, p. 34ff.

[5] *Taylor Cyl.*, II, *ll.* 44, 45.

the change was the result of an assassination we know not. When Sennacherib died, the new king thought that an opportune moment had arrived to attempt a revolt. Undoubtedly he was encouraged in the carrying out of his scheme by a knowledge of the difficulties which confronted Esarhaddon,[1] the successor of Sennacherib.[2] Abdimilkuti's hopes were not realized, for Esarhaddon marched speedily against Sidon and visited severe punishment upon the king, the people, and the city. In the record of the expedition the Assyrian ruler calls himself "the conqueror of Sidon, which lies in the midst of the sea, the overthrower of its dwellings." The story of its destruction he tells in these words: "Its walls and its houses I tore down and threw them into the sea, and I destroyed its site. Abdimilkuti, its king, who before my weapons in the midst of the sea had fled, like a fish from the midst of the sea I drew him out and cut off his head. His accumulated property, gold, silver, precious stones, an elephant hide, elephant teeth, *Ušu* and *Urkarinu* wood, variegated and linen clothing of every description, the treasure of his palace, in great quantities I carried away. His many men, who were without number, oxen, sheep, and asses, I brought to Assyria. I assembled the kings of the land of the Hittites and of the sea coast. In another place I caused the city to be built, and *Kar-Ašur-aḫê-iddin-na*[3] I called its name. The men, the booty of my bow, from the mountains, and from the sea of the rising of the sun, I caused to dwell there. My representative and my governor I placed over them. And Sanduarri, king of the cities of Kundi and Sizu, a powerful enemy, who did not respect my lordship, and whom had forsaken the gods, put his trust into the impassable mountains, and Abdimilkuti, king of Sidon, went to his assistance. The names of the great gods they appealed to one by one,[4] and they trusted in their power. I trusted in Ašur, my lord, and, like a bird, from the midst of the mountains I drew

[1] 681–668 B.C.

[2] Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, p. 217.

[3] *i.e.*, Fortress of Esarhaddon.

[4] *ana-ahamiš izkurû.*

him forth and cut off his head. In order to show to the people the power of Ašur, my lord, I hung the heads of Sanduarri and Abdimilkuti upon the necks of their great men, and with male singers and the playing of instruments I marched through the streets of Nineveh.''[1] A briefer account of the same event reads: ''Abdimilkuti, king of Sidon, who did not fear my lordship and did not regard the words of my mouth, who trusted in the great sea and cast off my yoke, Sidon, the city of his confidence, which was situated in the midst of the sea.''[2] According to the Babylonian Chronicle B.[3] the campaign took place in the fourth year of Esarhaddon, and the execution of the kings in the following year. That at this time Sidon was independent of Tyre, and Tyre of Sidon, is shown by the mention of Baal, king of Tyre.[4]

These inscriptions explain themselves. Esarhaddon made a complete end of the city of Sidon, which since the time of the Phœnician settlement along the shore of the Mediterranean had maintained a position of more or less prominence. It was superseded by a new, Assyrian, city, in a different location, and in a large measure with a non-Phœnician population.

[1] I R. 45, Col. I, *ll.* 9–53.

[2] The sentence is incomplete. III R. 15, Col. II, *ll.* 27–30; cp. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, p. 15, *l.* 29.

[3] Col. IV, *ll.* 1ff.

[4] III R. 16, Col. V, *l.* 13.

CHAPTER IV

TO THE DESTRUCTION OF SIDON BY ARTAXERXES OCHUS

THE destruction of Sidon by Esarhaddon could not have been made more complete. However, it is not probable that all the inhabitants were slain or deported. Many must have escaped to the neighboring cities. This crisis in the history of Sidon offers a suitable occasion for the alleged founding of Tyre by the Sidonians.[1] Tyre had suffered much from Sennacherib and his predecessors. It is not improbable, therefore, that, secretly at least, her sympathies were with Sidon during the revolt. Only when she beheld the terrible fate of her sister city, did her king send presents to Esarhaddon.[2] What would be more natural than that those inhabitants of Sidon who managed to escape should take refuge in Tyre? These refugees were of the better class of Sidonians, who in time came to occupy positions of prominence in their new home. The deities and sacred traditions of their native city they carried with them, and Tyre became the sole heir of everything that survived the awful catastrophe.[3] All the sanctity which belonged to Sidon as the first Phœnician settlement on the Mediterranean coast passed to Tyre, and there continued to live the best elements of the destroyed city.

This transfer can in no sense be called a "founding" of Tyre, but neither can the alleged migration of the Sidonians in the twelfth century B.C.,[4] for then also Tyre had existed as a city

[1] See above, p. 24.

[2] Baal is named first among the kings paying tribute, which may be an indication of special zeal on his part when he appeared before the king. A guilty conscience may have prompted the excessive zeal.

[3] The new city planted by Esarhaddon was not Phœnician; its population was of a different nationality, which made it impossible for it to become the heir of the religious traditions and possessions of Sidon.

[4] See p. 41.

of prominence for several centuries. And yet the migration of large numbers of prominent Sidonians and the transfer of Sidonian deities and traditions to Tyre might easily give rise, in the course of centuries, to a tradition such as is preserved by Justin. If this interpretation is correct, we must assume that an original "king of Assyria" was corrupted in the course of transmission into "king of Ascalon."[1]

The new city stood upon the mainland. It was in no sense a Phœnician city; it had an Assyrian name, was ruled by an Assyrian governor, had a non-Phœnician population,[2] and therefore also non-Phœnician deities and customs; but it was situated in the midst of powerful Phœnician influences, which it could not withstand permanently. Slowly perhaps, but steadily, the Assyrian city became a Phœnician city, bearing the familiar name Sidon, though for some time it seems to have remained under the control of Assyrian governors, who continued loyal to the Assyrian kings down to the fall of the Assyrian power. The years of quietness and peace enabled the young city to develop her resources and opportunities.

After the fall of Nineveh in 607/606, the Chaldean kingdom took the place of Assyria. Unfortunately the inscriptions of the Chaldean kings say practically nothing of affairs in the west. The only exception is a brief remark of Nebuchadrezar: "With his—*i.e.*, Marduk's—exalted assistance I penetrated distant lands and mountain regions, from the upper sea to the lower sea."[3] Not once is Sidon mentioned. A little more information concerning this period of Sidon's history may be gathered from the Old Testament. The prophet Jeremiah names Sidon in three passages. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign he received the command to announce the exile of Judah, its restoration, and the subsequent judgment upon the nations of the earth. In this connection he mentions "all the kings of Tyre, and all the kings

[1] So v. Landau, *Der Alte Orient*, II, 4, p. 24; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, p. 440.

[2] I R. 45, Col. I, *ll.* 31–34.

[3] I R. 53, Col. II, *ll.* 12ff.

of Sidon."[1] In the beginning of Zedekiah's reign[2] he is commanded: "Make thee bonds and yokes, and put them upon thy neck, and send them to the king of Edom, and to the king of Moab, and to the king of the Ammonites, and to the king of Tyre, and to the king of Sidon, by the hand of the messengers which have come to Jerusalem unto Zedekiah, king of Judah."[3] The symbolical act to be performed is interpreted in v. 6: "And now I have given all of these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, my servant."[4] The prophet names Sidon again in a message directed against the Philistines,[5] in which he announces the cutting off from Tyre and Sidon of "every helper that remaineth."[6]

To a slightly later period belong the utterances of Ezekiel. Chapter 27 of his prophecies contains an oracle against Tyre. Speaking of the wealth and influence of Tyre, he calls the inhabitants of Sidon the "mariners" of Tyre, who have assisted the latter in the accumulation of her riches.[7] The destruction of Sidon he announces in 28: 20–23: "Behold, I am against thee, O Sidon; and I will glorify myself in the midst of thee, and they shall know that I am Yahweh, when I execute judgment in her, and I shall show myself holy in her. Yea, I will send unto her pestilence, and blood into her streets; and the slain shall be judged in the midst of her by the sword which is against her from every side, and they shall know that I am Yahweh." Chapter 32 presents a vision of Sheol, and of the nations to be imprisoned there. One sentence reads: "There are the princes of the north, all of them; and all the Sidonians, which are gone down with the slain." [8]

Of these the only passage of much historical importance is Jer.

[1] 25 : 22.

[2] 27 : 1. The present Hebrew text reads: "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim"; but vv. 3, 12, 20; 28 : 1 make it plain that the beginning of Zedekiah's reign is meant. The Septuagint omits the verse.

[3] 27 : 2, 3.

[4] Cp. also vv. 7–11.

[5] 47 : 1. This message was delivered "before Pharaoh smote Gaza," *i.e.*, probably in 608.

[6] v. 4.

[7] v. 8.

[8] v. 30

27: 3. From it may be inferred that after the withdrawal of Nebuchadrezar from Jerusalem in 597, and the accession of Zedekiah, an attempt was made by the vassal princes in the west to form a confederacy against the Chaldean monarch; and further, that at that time Sidon had recovered sufficiently from the blow struck by Esarhaddon, less than a century before, to give to it a place by the side of Tyre, though it may not have been equally powerful. Indeed, Ez. 27: 8 implies that Tyre was superior. In the same direction points the fact that the utterances of both prophets against Tyre are much more lengthy and numerous than those against Sidon, and the stubborn resistance which subsequently Tyre offered to the prolonged attacks of Nebuchadrezar.[1] In addition to the Biblical statements, one passage in Herodotus refers to this period of Sidonian history. In it the Greek historian relates that Apries, Pharaoh of Egypt, marched an army against Sidon and fought a sea battle with the king of Tyre.[2]

Only a very general notion of the progress of events can be gained from these few notes. It would seem that down to the fall of the Assyrian empire in 606, or at least to the expedition of Necho into Phœnicia and Syria, Sidon submitted quietly to the Assyrian rule. However, after the death of Ašurbanapal in 626 B.C., it must have become evident to all observers that the Assyrian supremacy was doomed; hence, when Necho advanced into northern Syria, the Phœnician cities must have felt that submission to him was the only safe and wise policy, and Sidon, with the other cities, yielded to him with very little opposition.[3] The battle of Carchemish resulted in the withdrawal of Egypt from western Asia, and in the ascendency of the new Chaldean empire under Nebuchadrezar. The fortunes of the Phœnician cities could not be affected by the change, and since there was

[1] Josephus, *Ant.*, X, 11, 1; cp. *Cont. Ap.*, I, 20, 21.

[2] II, 161; cp. also Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica*, I, 68.

[3] Fragments of a stela dating from Necho's supremacy in Phœnicia, and bearing his name in hieroglyphics have been found at Sidon; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 583. See further below, p. 152.

no special incentive for them to adhere to Egypt, they readily yielded to the new master. But Egypt was not content, and immediately the Pharaoh resumed the policy practiced in past generations, of stirring up trouble in Palestine and Syria, and he succeeded in persuading Jehoiakim of Judah to revolt. During the early troubles of Judah the Phœnician cities appear to have maintained a neutral attitude, but in the end the Egyptian efforts proved successful there also, and after the first exile[1] and the accession of Zedekiah all the vassal states in and around Palestine were ready to join in a revolt against Nebuchadrezar.[2] In this the Phœnician cities were not prompted by love for Egypt, but simply by a desire to recover complete political independence, which they had lost to Assyria centuries earlier. When Nebuchadrezar finally turned westward, his first expedition was directed against Jerusalem. The Pharaoh of Egypt came to the aid of the city, but could accomplish nothing.[3] The other rebels, whose courage failed in the presence of the great conqueror, kept aloof, or even joined the Chaldeans in their attack upon Judah.[4] After the destruction of Jerusalem and Nebuchadrezar's withdrawel, Apries of Egypt[5] thought that an opportune moment had arrived to punish the Phœnician cities for their disloyalty after the battle of Carchemish and their failure to come to the aid of the Pharaoh in 588. This punitive expedition must have been undertaken in the years immediately after the fall of Jerusalem. Apries conquered the Tyrians at sea and took Sidon, whereupon the other Phœnician cities yielded.[6] But it seems that the Egyptians could not maintain permanently their hold on Phœnicia, for shortly afterward Nebuchadrezar appeared upon the scene once more, fighting, not against Egypt, but against Tyre, which at that time evidently enjoyed complete independence. The siege of the city continued for thirteen years,[7] and the probability is that even then the island city was still in

[1] In 597. [2] Jer. 27 : 1ff.; see note 2 on p. 57. [3] Jer. 37.
[4] Ez. 26 : 2. [5] 588–570 B.C. [6] Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, I, 68.
[7] Josephus, *Cont. Ap.*, I, 21; quoted from Menander.

the hands of the defenders. Concerning the outcome Ezekiel says: "Yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyre, for the service which he rendered against her; therefore, thus saith the Lord Yahweh, behold, I will give to Nebuchadrezar, king of Babylon, the land of Egypt."[1] From this one may safely infer that the city did not fall into the power of Nebuchadrezar; at the same time, other statements in the immediate context show that Tyre suffered severe losses. The outcome was, in all probability, a compromise, which may have involved a nominal submission to the Chaldeans and the payment of tribute.[2] Whatever the exact terms of peace, the thirteen-year struggle sapped the resources of Tyre, and gave Sidon an excellent opportunity to press to the front. The sufferings of Tyre taught the other Phœnician cities a valuable lesson, for during the remaining years of the Chaldean supremacy in western Asia all appear to have borne their fate patiently.

The Chaldean empire fell before Cyrus in 538 B.C., and its numerous vassal states fell into his hands.[3] His treatment of the Jews is one illustration of the leniency which he showed toward all his foreign subjects, and so far as Phœnicia is concerned his rule was purely nominal; the Phœnician cities enjoyed a practical independence, as they must have done under the weak successors of Nebuchadrezar. Indeed, the relation between the early kings of Persia and the Phœnicians was more that of allies than of conquerors and conquered. Such friendly understanding would prove mutually advantageous. It would furnish the Persians with a fleet, without which it was impossible for the Persian kings to carry out their vast schemes;[4] on the

[1] 29 : 18, 19.

[2] Cp. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, p. 338. Chronological data concerning this siege are nowhere supplied. Many scholars believe that it was contemporaneous with the wars against Judah, and they date it 598–585; a later date, 585–572, is in better accord with the course of events during this period.

[3] Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I, 1, 4.

[4] The entire sea service of Cambyses depended upon the Phœnicians; Herodotus, *Historia*, III, 19.

other hand, it would assure the Phœnicians the protection of a powerful empire, which they needed if they would carry out successfully their extensive commercial enterprises. A certain independence of the Phœnicians is implied in the respect with which the king treated their refusal to proceed against Carthage,[1] as also in the fact that throughout the entire Persian period the Phœnician cities were ruled by Phœnician kings,[2] though these kings paid tribute to the Persian monarchs.[3] Another indication of it is the holding of the annual council at Tripolis, in which were discussed, ordinarily without interference from the Persians, matters of interest to all Phœnicians.[4]

The statements of ancient classical writers make it plain that during this entire period Sidon stood out as the most prominent city of Phœnicia.[5] "In wealth and resources," says Diodorus, "Sidon surpassed by far all the other Phœnician cities."[6] The Persian kings selected Sidon as their temporary residence, whenever their duties called them westward; in or near Sidon was a royal park, where they were accustomed to hold court on such occasions.[7] In war also Sidon took the lead; at a later time it was able, with the aid of hired mercenaries, to inflict a severe defeat upon the Persian generals.[8] In the war against the Greeks the eighty vessels of the Phœnicians were under the command of the king of the Sidonians,[9] and in battle the Sidonians were the bravest and most courageous fighters in the Persian fleet.[10]

[1] Herodotus, III, 19. [2] *Ibid.*, VIII, 67. [3] *Ibid.*, III, 91.

[4] Diodorus, XVI, 41. [5] *Ibid.*, XVI, 44; cp. 41, 45.

[6] The Old Testament contains only one reference to the history of Sidon during the early Persian period. "They (the post-exilic Jews) gave money also unto the masons and carpenters, and food and drink and oil unto the Sidonians and Tyrians, to bring cedar trees from the Lebanon by sea to Joppa, according to the decree which Cyrus, king of Persia, had given to them"; Ezra 3 : 7. The mention of Sidon before Tyre—cp. also 1 Chr. 22 : 4—is in perfect accord with the historical situation during the Persian period, when Sidon was the more prominent city.

[7] Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica*, XVI, 41.

[8] *Ibid.*, XVI, 42; see further below, p. 65.

[9] *Ibid.*, XIV, 79. [10] *Ibid.*, XI, 13

Herodotus also frequently alludes to the preëminence of Sidon. When Democedes was ordered to proceed to Greece as the guide of the Persians, "the men went down to Phœnicia, to Sidon, the Phœnician city, where straightway they fitted out two triremes and a trading vessel."[1] Sidon seems to have been at that time a common starting point for Persian ships. While at Abydos, Xerxes ordered his ships to engage in a sailing match, which was won by the Phœnicians of Sidon, much to the joy of Xerxes.[2] The superiority of the Sidonians is emphasized again in another passage: "The Phœnician ships were the best sailers in the fleet, and the Sidonian the best among the Phœnician."[3] Among the most renowned leaders of the Persian fleet, next to the commanders, is named in first place Tetramnestos, the son of Anysos the Sidonian.[4] The excellence of the Sidonian ships is emphasized once more when it is said of the five triremes furnished by Artemisia, that next to the Sidonian these were the most famous ships in the fleet.[5] Because of this superior excellence Xerxes embarked ordinarily in a Sidonian vessel. "He exchanged his chariot for a Sidonian galley and, seated beneath a golden awning, sailed along the prows of all the vessels."[6] "Embarking, *as was his wont*, aboard a Sidonian vessel."[7] The king of Sidon occupied the first place among the vassals of Xerxes. "So he came and seated himself in the seat of honor; and the sovereigns of the nations, and the captains of the ships, were summoned to appear in his presence; and as they arrived they took their seats according to the rank assigned to them by the king. In the first seat sat the king of Sidon; after him, the king of Tyre; then the rest in their order."[8]

The passages to which reference has been made mention specifically Sidon or the Sidonians. In addition, many references are found to the Phœnicians in general, who were of much service to the Persians in all their enterprises, but especially in

[1] Herodotus, III, 136.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII, 44.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII, 96; cp. Diodorus, XI, 13.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII, 98.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII, 99.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII, 100.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII, 128.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII, 67.

the Grecian wars. In many cases Sidonians must be included in the more comprehensive term Phœnicians. From these specific statements, and from others of a more general character, it may be safely inferred that for about two centuries after the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadrezar, Sidon occupied the first place among the cities of Phœnicia.[1] In a large measure this was due to the losses suffered by Tyre during the thirteen-year siege; a partial explanation may be found also in the composite character of the population of the city established by Esarhaddon.[2]

When in the early years of the fourth century B.C. the Persians interfered in the quarrels which broke out between the Grecian states, the Phœnicians again played a prominent part. In 394, in the naval battle of Cnidus, the presence of Phœnician ships enabled the Athenians to recover the naval supremacy lost at Ægos-Potami;[3] and the demands of the Persian king in the "peace of Antalcidas," in 387, were complied with because the Greeks knew that he was able to enforce them by means of the Phœnician fleet. To services such as were rendered at Cnidus must be traced, in part at least, the good feeling between Phœnicia and Greece, especially Athens, evidences of which begin to show themselves during the fourth century B.C. The Athenians would be prompted by a sense of gratitude and by the hope that in future struggles they might win the support of the Phœnicians. On the other hand, the latter were beginning to grow restless under the Persian rule. If it should come to a struggle with Persia, an alliance with the Greeks was not to be despised. Besides, their commercial interests might be advanced by a closer union. The extent of the Persian empire to

[1] Kenrick says (*Phœnicia*, p. 406): "In the incidental mention of Phœnician affairs we thus gain from the Greek historians, Tyre appears as the predominant state in naval strength, while Sidon was the most flourishing and wealthy." The testimony of the ancient writers shows that in naval affairs also Sidon had surpassed Tyre.

[2] That the influence of the Assyrian colonists was felt for centuries is seen from the presence of elements representing the names of Assyrian deities in names of Sidonians belonging to a much later period. See below, p. 125ff.

[3] Diodorus, XIV, 83.

India gave new impetus to the commerce between the Orient and the Occident. The Phœnicians were the commercial mediators;[1] hence the maintenance of pleasant relations with prospective customers in the west was an important consideration with all the coast cities of Phœnicia. It was at about this time that Phœnicians began to settle in large numbers in Attica, particularly at Phalerum and the Piræus, where they had their own places of worship and interment.[2] In the establishment of these colonies and of the better relations in general the Sidonians had an important part. Of the six Phœnician sepulchral inscriptions found in Athens and the Piræus,[3] three commemorate persons belonging to families of Sidonians.[4]

To the same general period belongs the decree of the Council of Athens,[5] which establishes the relation of Proxenia between Strato (עבדעשתרת), king of Sidon, and the Athenian people, and exempts all Sidonians in Attica from the tax usually imposed upon foreigners, from the obligation of the Choregia, and from all other contributions to the State. This is the same Strato as the king of Sidon of whose luxury and extravagance speak Theopompos[6] and Ælianus.[7] The latter says: "One singer was not enough for Strato, to entertain him with his melody at the banquet table; hence there appeared a multitude of female singers and players of the flute, concubines of the most beautiful form, and dancers. He also did his best to surpass Nicocles,[8] as the latter sought to surpass him. But these two vied with one another not in a matter of importance; no, only in that of which I have spoken."

Toward the close of the fifth century the power of the Persians began to decline, and in a little while the loyalty of Phœnicia commenced to waver. It is not impossible that Phœnicia

[1] See below, p. 114ff.

[2] An altar found at the Piræus also witnesses to the presence of Phœnicians there. C. I. S., I, No. 118.

[3] C. I. S., I, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121.

[4] C. I. S., I, 115, 116, 119.

[5] C. I. G., I, 87; C. I. A., II, 86.

[6] Fragment 126, ed. Wichers, p. 35.

[7] *Varia historia*, VII, 2.

[8] King of Salamis.

sympathized with the revolt which Euagoras raised in Cyprus in 392 or 391,[1] though it did not rebel openly until 362.[2] In this revolt Strato became involved, and when it broke down his life was in danger. That he might not be taken by the Persians, he determined to take his own life. At the last moment he hesitated; then his wife, knowing that no time could be lost, wrested the weapon from his hand and pierced his side.[3] More serious trouble arose about ten years later, during the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus. At the annual council of the Phœnicians at Tripolis the Persian satraps and generals treated the Sidonians with such arrogance that they decided to break away from the Persians. The other Phœnician states were persuaded to join, and Nectanebus of Egypt promised his support. Extensive preparations were made for the ensuing struggle. Many triremes were gathered; mercenaries were secured; arms, provisions, and everything else that was needed were speedily procured. The first act of hostility was the cutting down of the trees in the royal park in or near Sidon; then the hay stored for the use of the Persian cavalry was set on fire, and the Persians who had participated in the outrages against the Sidonians were punished.

When the news of the revolt reached the ears of the king, he uttered threats against all the Phœnicians, and especially against the Sidonians. As soon as he could collect his forces, he set out from Babylon with an army consisting of 300,000 footmen and 30,000 horsemen, besides a great number of ships.[4] While he was still on the march, two Persian satraps, Belesys of Syria and Mazæus of Cilicia, attacked the Phœnicians; but Tennes,[5] the king of Sidon, with the aid of Greek mercenaries under the leadership of Mentor of Rhodes, who had been furnished by the king of Egypt, inflicted a severe defeat upon them and drove them from Phœnicia. Then the kings of Cyprus revolted, but before

[1] Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia*, p. 500.
[2] Diodorus, XV, 90.
[3] Jerome, *adv. Jovinianus*, I, 45.
[4] Diod., XVI, 40.
[5] On the coins of Tennes appear the two letters תע. See below, p. 158. What they stand for is not certain ; perhaps they form the first letters of the two elements of which the name is composed, תנ־עשתרת ?

they could send aid to the rebels on the mainland they were pressed by the Persian armies.

When Tennes heard of the approach of Artaxerxes at the head of a powerful army, he lost heart and became troubled about his own personal safety. Secretly he dispatched a trusty servant to the Persian king with an offer that he would deliver up Sidon and aid the king in the conquest of Egypt, if he would spare his life. Meanwhile the Sidonians lost no time. They stored in the city provisions and arms in abundance; they strengthened the walls of the city, and beyond them they dug threefold trenches. The city was defended by large numbers of well-equipped and well-trained native soldiers and hired mercenaries. In the harbor lay more than a hundred triremes and quinqueremes.

Mentor had been persuaded to become a party to the treachery of Tennes. While he was left in the city to carry out the plans there, the latter went out under the pretext that he was going to a general council of the Phœnicians. Under the same pretext he took with him one hundred of the most prominent citizens of Sidon. As they neared the camp of the king, he ordered the arrest of the one hundred and delivered them to Artaxerxes, who ordered them slain. When the soldiers accompanying Tennes became aware of the treachery they prayed for mercy, but the Persian king, who desired to set a terrible example, paid no heed. On the approach of the king the mercenaries opened the gate for him, but when Artaxerxes had become master of the city and had no further use for Tennes, he ordered the traitor killed.

When the Sidonians, who had meanwhile given orders that all the ships in the harbor should be burned, so that no one might be tempted to run away, saw the treachery, they, with their wives and children, shut themselves up into their houses and set fire to them. More than forty thousand persons are said to have perished in the flames.[1] The ruins the king sold for a big sum of money, for it was thought that much gold and silver would be found in the ruins of the wealthy city. When the other

[1] Is. 23 : 4, 12, may reflect this calamity.

Phœnician cities heard of the terrible fate of Sidon they gave up all resistance.[1]

This awful calamity made an end of the second city of Sidon in 351 B.C.

[1] Diodorus, XVI, 41–45.

CHAPTER V

TO THE BEGINNING OF THE CRUSADES

Either the account of Diodorus is fearfully exaggerated, or the men who settled upon the ruins were men of extraordinary genius and energy. At any rate, in less than twenty years the city was rebuilt, commerce resumed, the ancient prosperity recovered, and Sidon was once more a city of prominence.

Meanwhile a dark cloud had arisen on the western horizon, which was about to break into a tempest which in a short time would sweep away the Persian empire. As early as 338 Philip of Macedonia had planned an expedition against Persia, and one of the first acts of Alexander after ascending the throne, in 336, was to demand that he be placed at the head of the expedition which had been delayed.[1] In 334 he crossed the Hellespont into Asia. The first engagement with the Persians was fought on the banks of the Granicus and resulted in a victory for Alexander. Toward the close of the following year, after Asia Minor had submitted to the Macedonian conqueror, the two armies met again at Issus, and again the Persians suffered a decisive defeat. Phœnicia was a formidable foe on account of its powerful navy, which was still at the command of the Persian king, who might use it for an attack upon the coast of Greece. If Alexander could attach this navy to himself, he would strengthen thereby his own position on the sea, and at the same time would free his homeland from a threatening danger. Accordingly, after sending a detachment of troops into Syria, he himself proceeded in the direction of Phœnicia. The Phœnicians saw that they must choose quickly between Alexander and the Persians, and almost without exception they cast their lot with the former. Strato of Arados surrendered Arados, Marathos,

[1] Arrianus, *Anabasis*, I, 1.

Sigon, Mariamne, and all his other possessions.[1] Byblos and Sidon, which had much reason to hate the Persians, and had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the change, received him with open arms.[2] Tyre alone resisted, but after a seven months' siege it was taken and terribly punished.[3] The siege was directed from Sidon,[4] and the Sidonians furnished some assistance to the Macedonians;[5] but when the city was finally taken, many of the Tyrians "were saved by the Sidonians, who constituted a part of Alexander's force. The latter had entered the city with the victors, but remembering their relationship with the Tyrians—inasmuch as they believed Agenor to have founded both cities—they offered protection to a number of the citizens, took them on board their ships, and secretly conveyed them to Sidon. Fifteen thousand were thus saved."[6]

An interesting story is told by Curtius[7] concerning the appointment of a new king in Sidon: "Strato, its king, was secretly sold to the Persians, because his recent submission had been more of a temporizing compliance with the wishes of his subjects than a voluntary act; for which reason Alexander deemed him unworthy of the throne. Whereupon the Macedonian victor authorized Hephæstion to raise to the vacant throne the individual among the Sidonians who was most distinguished by merit. Now Hephæstion lodged and was entertained at the home of two brothers, young men of brilliant reputation among their fellow-citizens. To these he offered the kingship, but they successively refused it, on the ground that it was contrary to the laws of the country to elevate to that dignity any other than a member of the royal family. Hephæstion, admiring the greatness of soul which induced them to reject that which to obtain others employ fire and slaughter, spoke thus: 'Cultivate those virtuous principles, till now without example, through which you are able to

[1] Arrianus, II, 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, 15; Curtius, IV, 3; cp. Josephus, *Ant.*, XI, 8, 3.
[3] Arrianus, II, 15ff.; Curtius, IV, 7ff.; Diodorus, XVII, 40ff.
[4] Arrianus, II, 19, 20.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, 20; Curtius, IV, 18.
[6] Curtius, IV, 18.
[7] *Ibid.*, IV, 3, 4.

perceive how much better it is to reject a diadem than to accept it. Name, however, some person of the royal family who may remember when he is king that he is indebted to you for his power.' Now they knew of many who courted servilely the favorites of Alexander and grasped ambitiously after the dazzling prize with impatient solicitude, but they announced that no one deserved it more than Abdalominus,[1] who, though remotely related to the royal family, was so reduced in circumstances that he worked in the suburbs as a gardener for a small stipend. As is not uncommon, his penury was the result of his uprightness. Intent upon his daily labor, he had not yet become aware of the clashing of arms which shook all Asia.

"Suddenly the two disinterested Sidonians, bearing the robes and insignia of royalty, entered the garden where Abdalominus was rooting up the weeds. After saluting him as king, one of them addressed him: 'This splendid dress I bring in exchange for your sordid covering. Wash from your body its accustomed dirt. Assume the mind of a king; but in your dignity, which is well merited, retain your frugality and moderation; and when seated on the throne, holding the life and death of the citizens in your power, do not forget the condition in which you were when a sceptre was placed in your hand, nor the purpose for which you are appointed king.' This address affected Abdalominus as a dream. Recovering himself, he asked them if they were in their senses; then, how they could ridicule him so wantonly. In the stupor of surprise and doubt he made no effort to restore himself to beauty and cleanliness; passively he submitted to the necessary ablutions, and to be clothed in an embroidered mantle of purple and gold. Induced by their oaths to believe that they were in earnest, and that they were authorized to make him king, he at length permitted them to conduct him to the palace. Rumor quickly circulated the news of the transaction. Some were pleased, others were indignant. The opulent acrimoniously displayed to Alexander's friends the low occupation and the

[1] Called also Abdalonimus, which is more accurate; in Phœnician עבדאלנם.

poverty of Abdalominus. Alexander ordered him to be brought in his presence. After he had surveyed him carefully, he said: 'My friend, your manner and bearing are not at variance with the account of your extraction. Allow me, therefore, to inquire with what degree of contentment you bore indigence.' Abdalominus replied: 'Would to God I may bear the weight of a kingdom with equal tranquility. These hands ministered sufficiently to my necessities. I possessed nothing; I wanted nothing.' The Macedonian king, perceiving in this answer the expression of a noble spirit, not only ordered that the royal possessions of Strato should be delivered to Abdalominus, but in addition enriched him with presents of the Persian plunder, and annexed to his jurisdiction as king of Sidon a contiguous tract of country.'"[1]

The Phœnician cities remained loyal to Alexander up to the close of his life; Phœnicians accompanied his armies for purposes of trading, and Phœnician ships proved of great value to him in his military enterprises.[2]

After the death of Alexander, Syria, including Phœnicia, fell to Laomedon,[3] who was displaced by Ptolemy of Egypt in 320.[4] Five years later he was supplanted by Antigonus.[5] All of the cities of Phœnicia welcomed the latter gladly, with the exception of Tyre, which was occupied after a siege lasting fifteen months, during which Antigonus had the support of the other Phœnician cities. Shipyards were established at Sidon, Beyrut, and Tripolis, and with the aid of the ships constructed in these places[6] Tyre was reduced.[7] Notwithstanding these successes of Antigonus, the struggle between him and

[1] The same story is told in Justin, XI, 10; cp. also some MSS. of Pollux, VI, 19; but in Diodorus, XVII, 46, 47, it is transferred to Tyre; in Plutarch, *de Alexandri fortuna*, II, 8, to Paphos. The king of Tyre at this time was Azemilkus (עזמלך), who was pardoned by Alexander—Arr., II, 24; therefore Diodorus cannot be right. Doubt is thrown upon the correctness of Plutarch's statement by the fact that none of the original biographers of Alexander ever speak of him as having been in Paphos.

[2] Arrianus, VII, 19. [3] Diodorus, XVIII, 3. [4] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 43.

[5] *Ibid.*, XIX, 58. [6] *Ibid.*, XIX, 58. [7] *Ibid.*, XIX, 61.

Ptolemy continued for many years. In 312 Ptolemy came once more into possession of Phœnicia, but almost immediately he was displaced again by his foe.[1] An attack made by the latter upon Egypt in 307 failed, and soon afterward the sea coast of Phœnicia, with the exception of Sidon, fell again into the hands of Ptolemy. He proceeded to reduce it, but when the rumor reached him that Antigonus had been successful against Seleucus, and was now on his way into Syria, he made a truce with the city and returned to Egypt.[2] When Antigonus died, portions of Phœnicia, including Sidon, passed to his son Demetrius. Seleucus demanded the surrender of these, and a prolonged struggle arose, which resulted finally in Phœnicia becoming a province of Egypt,[3] and it remained an Egyptian dependency until 197 B.C.[4] Even before the last mentioned date several attempts were made by the Seleucidæ to recover Syria and Phœnicia. Antiochus the Great came near the goal in 218, when treachery deliverd Tyre and Acco into his hands, and the Egyptian commander was defeated and compelled to take refuge in Sidon.[5] However, in the succeeding year the fortunes of war turned, Antiochus suffered a severe defeat, and Egypt remained in possession. In 203 Antiochus renewed the attempt. At first the Egyptians were successful, under the leadership of Scopas, but finally they were routed at Panium,[6] and shut up in Sidon, where they were compelled to surrender.[7]

Under the sovereignty of the Ptolemies Sidon was permitted to retain the kingship, and on the whole the period was one of prosperity. The yoke of Egypt rested but lightly upon the cities of Phœnicia, for the Pharaoh recognized the advantage of having the good will of the coast cities, whose ships and sailors would be of inestimable value in times of war. The latter part

[1] Diodorus, XIX, 86. [2] *Ibid.*, XX, 113.

[3] Plutarch, *Vit. Demetr.*, 32. The date of this event is still under dispute. It is probable, however, that it occurred during the reign of Ptolemy I. Cp. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 131; Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, I, 233.

[4] Polybius, *Historiæ*, XVI, 18. Joseph., *Ant.*, XII, 3, 3.

[5] Polybius, V, 69, 70. [6] *Ibid.*, XVI, 18. [7] Jerome, on *Dan.* 11:15.

of the fourth century and the first part of the third century offer the most suitable place for the dynasty of Ešmunazar, four at least of whose rulers are known from the inscriptions.[1] The first king whose name has been preserved is Ešmunazar I., in all probability the son and successor of Abdalominus—named by his father אשמן עזר, *i.e.*, Ešmun helps, in grateful recognition of the honor bestowed upon him by Alexander.[2] Of his reign nothing is known. He was succeeded by his son Tabnit, who calls himself the priest of Aštart. He reigned only a little while, and was succeeded by his son Ešmunazar II., who, being still a child, had as co-regent his mother Em-Aštart. During their reign of fourteen years the dominion of Sidon was extended over Dor and Joppa. "In compensation for the heavy price paid by me, the lord of kings[3] bestowed upon us Dor and Joppa, the magnificent grain districts in the plain of Sharon, and we added them to the territory, so that they became forever the possession of the Sidonians."[4] The details of this transaction are obscure. It cannot be shown, nor is it probable, that the cities were given to Ešmunazar in return for services rendered in war. It is much more likely that Ešmunazar's share consisted in the payment of a large amount of money. Dor, and perhaps also Joppa, had belonged to Sidon previous to the conquests of Alexander;[5] there is no indication that he took away any of Sidon's possessions; on the contrary, the tradition is that he enlarged the territory of Abdalominus.[6] It is easy to see how, during the troublesome period subsequent to Alexander's death, the claims of Sidon might be disregarded. But the possessions in the fertile plain of Sharon were too valuable to be given up without a struggle; hence Ešmunazar and his mother, in order to substantiate and reinforce their claims, paid an adequate sum of money to the Egyptian king, who confirmed their claims in return. Only then were they free to incorporate the cities

[1] The date of the dynasty is discussed more fully on p. 148ff.

[2] See above, p. 71.

[3] The king of Egypt; see below, p. 150.

[4] C. I. S., I, No. 3, *ll.* 18, 19.

[5] Scylax, *Periplus*, ed. Hudson, p. 42.

[6] See above, p. 71, the closing sentence of the narrative of Curtius.

into their kingdom "forever." Within the city itself the two rulers engaged in extensive building enterprises. The temples destroyed in 351 were not yet rebuilt in their former splendor, and Ešmunazar and his mother sought to win the favor of the chief deities of the city by restoring their ancient dwelling places.[1] Ešmunazar died while he was still a young man,[2] and was succeeded by Bod-Aštart, who erected a magnificent temple for Ešmun on the south side of the *Nahr-al-Auwaly*. The ruins of this temple reveal the fact that the building was completed in two stages, separated from each other by a number of years, but both belonging to the reign of Bod-aštart, an indication that his reign continued for many years.[3] He had a son Ṣedek-yathon, who, however, does not seem to have ascended the throne, perhaps because he preceded his father to the grave. When the ruling dynasty died out, the Pharaoh, Ptolemy II, placed upon the throne of Sidon his στρατηγός, Philocles, the son of Apollodorus (רשפיתן)[4] who had rendered valuable services to the king. This happened about 280 B.C.[5] At about this time a Sidonian Apollonides, the son of Demetrius, received the honor of proxenos and benefactor, and the right to acquire landed property in Attica, for services rendered to Attic merchants and sailors.[6] This Apollonides has been identified with the father

[1] C. I. S., I, No. 3, *ll.* 15–18.

[2] But not a mere child; see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* I, p. 150.

[3] *Mitteilungen der Vorder-Asiat. Ges.*, 1905, p. 1ff.

[4] C. I. A., II, No. 1371; *Bulletin de corresp. hell.*, IV, 327ff., where it is shown that Philocles should be connected with Ptolemy II rather than with Ptolemy I, and where his date is placed between 306 and 266. Also XIV, 407, 409. In *Bulletin de corr. hell.*, XV, 137, an earlier date is suggested; cp. also *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. *Phœnicia,* but the date given above is to be preferred.

[5] To this event refers Theocritus, *Idyl.*, XVII, *l.* 110, and not, as Clermont-Ganneau thinks, to the giving of Dor and Joppa to Ešmunazar. Cp. Cler.-Gan. in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, X, p. 508; *Rec. d'arch. orient.*, I, p. 285. The discoveries in the ruins of the Ešmun temple, which point to a long reign of Bod-aštart, make impossible the view of the same author (*Rev. arch.*, 1892, p. 119) that Philocles established a claim upon the throne of Sidon by marrying Em-Aštart. The identification of Philocles with Tabnit—Winckler, *A. O. F.*, II, p. 295ff.—is also unwarranted.

[6] C. I. A., II, 171.

of Philocles,[1] and in the fact that the latter belonged to a prominent Sidonian family has been seen a partial explanation for the son's exaltation; but the identification seems unwarranted.

It has been claimed that at the time of Ešmunazar's death, or soon after, a republican form of government was introduced in Sidon.[2] Our more complete knowledge of the reign of Bodaštart makes this view impossible. If such government did exist in the third century B.C., of which there is no conclusive evidence, it cannot have been introduced until after the death of Philocles. The chief argument is drawn from a Phœnician inscription [3] which contains the expression, "in the fifteenth year of the people of Sidon." This expression may, indeed, imply the existence of a republican form of government in Sidon, but it is by no means certain that the inscription dates from the third century B.C. Most of the translators assign it to a later period when, we know, a republican form of government existed in the city. If, however, palæographical considerations should compel us in the end to assign it to an earlier date,[4] we may assume that after the death of Philocles a republic was established, perhaps c. 275 B.C., when a republican form of government was introduced also in Tyre.

The change from the sovereignty of the Ptolemies to that of the Seleucidæ may not have been unwelcome to Sidon and Tyre, for they must have looked with envy upon the rapidly growing city of Alexandria, which threatened to rob them of their commercial supremacy. As the Sidonians had formerly furnished ships to the Persians, to Alexander, and to the Ptolemies, so now they assisted Antiochus in his wars.[5] But the Seleucid supremacy was not destined to continue very long. During the latter part of the second century the empire commenced to

[1] E. Meyer, in *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. *Phœnicia.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phönikische Inschriften*, No. 1.

[4] See C. I. A., II, supplem. 1335b; but the Phœnician inscriptions are still too few to set up valid palæographical standards.

[5] Livy, *Historia*, XXXVII, 30; 1 Mac. 5 : 15.

break up; possession after possession was lost, and in 111 Sidon secured complete autonomy.[1]

From the second century on the inscriptions bear witness that the relationship between Phœnicia and Greece continued to be very close. Sons of Phœnician parents are found in the corps of the Attic ephebi;[2] Phœnicians figure as victors in the gymnastic contests at Athens,[3] at Cos,[4] at Delos.[5] Artists from Phœnicia are also mentioned,[6] and Strabo names philosophers whose homes were in Tyre and Sidon.[7] As at the earlier period, the Sidonians stand out more prominently than the inhabitants of any other city of Phœnicia; the majority of the Phœnicians named in these inscriptions are Sidonians.

When the kingdom of the Seleucidæ was dissolved in 64 B.C., Syria and Phœnicia became a Roman province. Like her predecessors, Rome exercised her rule in a spirit of leniency, and Sidon, with several other Phœnician cities, was permitted to retain its autonomy. Julius Cæsar addresses his decrees to the "magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon."[8] The city had become quite prosperous again, and its influence extended far beyond its own borders. In one decree of Cæsar[9] reference is made to the payment of tribute by the Jews in Sidon, "that they pay their tribute in Sidon in the second year—of the sabbatic period—the fourth part of what was sown." The same decree speaks of exports from Joppa to Sidon, a certain percentage of which was to be paid by the people of Joppa as a tribute to Hyrcanus and his sons. Antony also respected the privileges of Tyre and Sidon and, notwithstanding her persistent pleas, he refused to present the two cities to Cleopatra. "Thus he gave her the cities that were on this side of the river Eleutheros,

[1] Gesenius, *Monumenta*, p. 264ff.; Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, II, p. 256.

[2] C. I. A., II, Nos. 467, 469, 471, 492.

[3] C. I. A., II, Nos. 448, 498, 966, 968, 970.

[4] *Bulletin de cor. hell.*, V, 207.

[5] *Bulletin de cor. hell.*, VI, 146.

[6] C. I. A., II, 1318.

[7] XVI, 2, 34.

[8] Josephus, *Ant.*, XIV, 10, 2; XIV, 10, 6.

[9] *Ibid.*, XIV, 10, 6.

as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow these upon her also.''[1] Sidon was not very appreciative of these favors, for when the Parthians under Pacorus invaded Phœnicia, the inhabitants opened the gates to them without a moment's resistance.[2] On the other hand, in the struggle between the several Roman factions they took the part of Antony, their benefactor. Augustus remembered this, and when he went to the East in 20 B.C. he deprived both Sidon and Tyre of their freedom.[3] With this one exception, the rule of Rome proved exceedingly advantageous to the two cities, for the Romans cleared the Mediterranean Sea of the piratical fleets which made navigation very dangerous.[4] Once more the Phœnician ships could cross the waters without fear and fill the coffers of the merchants at home. Of the two cities Tyre seems to have been the more prominent, though Sidon was a close second.[5] From this time on, however, neither city played a prominent part politically, and until the time of the Crusades they are named but rarely, Sidon even less frequently than Tyre.

In the New Testament the two cities are named together ten times,[6] in a manner which shows that they were two representa-

[1] Josephus, *Ant.*, XV, 4, 1; cp. also XIV, 12, 5, where is recorded a decree addressed by him to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, and § 6, where the statement is made that the same thing was written to Sidon.

[2] Josephus, *Ant.*, XIV, 13, 13; cp. *Bell. Jud.*, I, 13, 1.

[3] Dion Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 54, 7.

[4] Thucydides, *De bello Peloponnesiaco*, I, 4.

[5] Mela, I, 12, written perhaps during the reign of Claudius, contains the words *adhuc opulenta Sidon.* That Sidon was a city of prominence during the Roman period is implied also in Joseph., *Ant.*, XVIII, 6, 3. If the city could insist on its rights against Damascus, it must have had resources which would have enabled it to back up, if necessary, its demands with force. One other reference of Josephus to Sidon may be mentioned here. In *Bell. Jud.*, II, 18, 5, he states that in the beginning of the Jewish wars with the Romans the Sidonians were very friendly toward the Jews, and would not permit any of the Jews who dwelt in their midst to be killed or imprisoned.

[6] Matt. 11 : 21, 22; 15 : 21; Mark 3 : 8; 7 : 24, 31; Luke 6 : 17; 10 : 13, 14; Acts 12 : 20.

tive cities of Phœnicia; so much so, that in some cases the phrase "Tyre and Sidon" is practically equivalent to "Phœnicia." Twice Sidon is named alone, once in an allusion to an incident recorded in the Old Testament,[1] and once as a stopping place of Paul on his way to Rome.[2] The most important event recorded in the gospels which is specifically located in Phœnicia is the healing of the daughter of the Syro-Phœnician woman,[3] which took place between Tyre and Sidon, but nearer to the former.[4] Acts 12 : 20, 21 throw an interesting sidelight upon conditions in Tyre and Sidon at that time: "Now he—Herod Agrippa—was highly displeased with the men of Tyre and Sidon. Then they came to him with one accord, and having made Blastus, the king's chamberlain, their friend, they asked for peace, because their country was nourished by the king's country. And upon a fixed day Herod arrayed himself in royal apparel, and sat upon his throne and made an oration to them." The attitude of Herod on this occasion is inexplicable, unless we assume that at this time, c. 44 A.D., Tyre and Sidon enjoyed once more a high degree of independence. "We cannot suppose," says Rawlinson,[5] "that the Judæan prince would have ventured to take up this attitude,[6] if the Phœnician cities would have been fully incorporated into the Roman state, since in that case quarreling with them would have been quarreling with Rome—a step on which even Agrippa, with all his pride and all his rashness, would scarcely have ventured." In all probability one of the successors of Augustus restored to the two cities the privileges which he had taken away from them in 20 B.C.

[1] Luke 4 : 26, Sarepta, in the land of Sidon. [2] Acts 27 : 3.

[3] Mark 7 : 24–30; Matt. 15 : 31–38. The Talmudical references to Sidon are of no historical value (cp. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 294, 295) and the same is true of the Apocryphal references, *e.g.*, 1 Esdr. 5 : 55; Jud. 2 : 28.

[4] Cp. Mark 7 : 31: "And again he went out from the borders of Tyre, and came through Sidon unto the Sea of Galilee, through the midst of the borders of Decapolis."

[5] *History*, p. 543.

[6] To make war against them, as is implied in their petition for peace.

Christianity secured a foothold in Phœnicia very early in the apostolic age.[1] On Paul's return from his third missionary journey he found disciples in Tyre and Ptolemais,[2] and in Sidon he found friends when he stopped there on his way to Rome,[3] which makes it probable that the foundation of a church was laid in Sidon about the middle of the first century A.D. The centre of the Phœnician church was Tyre, which became the seat of a Christian bishop toward the close of the second century. There also was held, in 335, the Council which condemned Athanasius. Little is heard of Sidon, but the list of the bishops present at the Council of Nicæa in 325 shows that it also was an episcopal seat in the fourth century, for it names Theodorus as the Bishop of Sidon.[4] At approximately the same time Eusebius speaks of Sidon as a city of note.[5]

From the time of Eusebius to the period of the Crusades we are dependent almost entirely upon the records of the Christian pilgrims for information concerning Sidon and its fortunes. The chief interest of these pilgrims centered in Jerusalem and in the sacred places scattered throughout Palestine proper; only rarely do they give full descriptions of places outside of the Holy Land. As a result authentic information concerning the history of Sidon during these centuries is very scarce.

The earliest record of a Christian pilgrimage is the *Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim.* The author, who is unknown, made his journey in 333 A.D.; he names Sidon,[6] but supplies no historical information. The same is true of *The Pilgrimage of Ste. Paula*, written by Jerome.[7] About 530 B.C. Theodosion, called *the deacon* or *the archdeacon*, wrote concerning Sidon: "Sarepta of Sidonia is in Phœnicia, near Mount Carmel. It is twelve miles from Sarepta to Sidon; and it was called Sarepta of Sidonia

[1] Acts 11 : 19. [2] Acts 21 : 4, 7. [3] Acts 27 : 3.

[4] Cp. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, I, p. 531.

[5] *Onomasticon*, under Σιδών; cp. also *Publ. de la soc. de l'orient latin*, Sér. géogr., II, pp. 58, 114.

[6] *P. P. T.*, Vol. I, p. 15.

[7] *Publications de la societé de l'orient latin*, Série géographique, Vol. I, p. 31.

because at that time Sidon was the metropolis of Sarepta, but now Sarepta is the metropolis.''[1] This would seem to imply that in his day Sarepta had surpassed Sidon. After the destruction of Beyrut by an earthquake in 551,[2] the law school which had flourished there for about three centuries[3] was transferred to Sidon,[4] but it never flourished in its new location. Antoninus Martyr, who visited the Holy Land between 560 and 570 A.D., describes his visit to Sidon in these words: ''From Beyrut we came to Sidon, which was partly ruined, and which is near the slope of Mount Lebanon. The people in it are very wicked. There flows the river Asclepius,[5] and there is the source from which it rises. From Sidon we came to Sarepta, which is a small and very Christian city.''[6] How Sidon came to be partly in ruins is not known; it too may have suffered from the earthquake in 551, or Antoninus may mean nothing more than that the town he saw did not cover the entire site occupied by the ancient city, remains of which were still seen in his day. Two accounts of the pilgrimage of the first English pilgrim, St. Willibald, have been preserved, the *Itinerarium S. Willibaldi* and the *Hodœporicon*. Both state that he visited Sidon,[7] but they supply no information of historical value.

In the seventh century A.D., during the reign of Caliph Omar, Syria and Phœnicia were incorporated into the Moslem empire. The capture of Damascus, in 635, was followed, in 638–640, by the conquest of the whole of Syria.[8] The conquered territory was divided into five *Junds* or military districts. Phœnicia was made a part of the district of Damascus,[9] and remained such for centuries. Ibn-al-Faḳîh, the Arabic geographer, writing c. 903 A.D., calls Sidon a coast town of Damascus, which gave its name to one of the divisions of the district.[10] Ya'ḳûb, writing in

[1] *Public. de la soc. de l'or. lat.*, Sér. géogr., Vol. I, p. 73.

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, IV, p. 435. [3] Heinecke, *Jurisprudentia*, proem. 45.

[4] *Rec. d'arch. or.*, I, p. 224. [5] The *Nahr-el-Auwaly*.

[6] *Public. de la soc. de l'or. lat.*, Sér. géogr., Vol. I, p. 92; cp. p. 362.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 293. [8] Müller, *Der Islam*, I, pp. 220, 221.

[9] Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 26.

[10] *Kitâb al-buldân*, in De Geoje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Vol. V, p. 105.

891, calls Sidon "a city at the foot of the Lebanon mountains. The town is entirely peopled by Persians, who were brought here by the Caliph Mu'âwiyah."[1] This energetic conqueror, who reigned from 661 to 680, must have learned his lesson from the policy pursued by the Assyrian kings.[2] Al-Makdisî, who wrote in 985, divides Syria into six districts. Among the cities of the district of Damascus he names Sidon, which he calls "a fortified city on the sea."[3] The most extensive reference to Sidon during this period is found in the diary of Abû-Mû'in-Nâṣir-i-Khusrau, a Persian who traveled through Palestine and Syria in 1047 A.D. The account reads: "From Beyrut we came to the city of Sidon, likewise on the seashore. They cultivate here much sugar cane. The city has a well-built wall of stone and four gates. It has a fine Friday mosque, very pleasantly situated, the whole interior of which is spread with matting in colored designs. The bazaars are so splendidly adorned that when I first saw them I imagined the city to be decorated for the arrival of the Sultan, or in honor of some good news. But when I inquired, they said it was customary for their city to be always thus beautifully decorated. The gardens and orchards of the town are such that one might say that each was a plaisance laid out at the fancy of some king. Kiosks are set therein, and the greater number of trees are of those kinds that bear fruit."[4] This description, which is the last from the period preceding the Crusades, shows that at the close of the first millennium of the Christian era Sidon had regained much of its oldtime splendor, and was apparently destined to play again an important rôle in the commercial history of the Orient.

[1] *Kitâb al-buldân*, II, p. 175 (Juynboll).
[2] See above, p. 53.
[3] *Aḥsan at-takâsîm*, p. 160 (De Geoje).
[4] *P. P. T.*, Vol. IV, p. 11.

CHAPTER VI

THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES

During the period of the Crusades Sidon played a less prominent part than Tyre, Acco, and Joppa, the other port cities along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea.[1] Nevertheless, as a city with a desirable harbor, it also soon attracted the attention of the Crusaders, who, coming to the Holy Land on ships, were greatly in need of suitable landing places, while the Moslems were equally eager to retain the coast cities in their own power. As a result the city was throughout the entire period a bone of contention between the warring parties; back and forth it passed between Christians and Moslems, until at the close of the struggle it remained with the latter, a ruin.

The opening of the first Crusade, 1096–1099, found Sidon a renowned and prosperous city.[2] On their march toward Jerusalem, in the spring of 1099, the Crusaders came for the first time into its vicinity.[3] The commander of Sidon, a subject of the Sultan of Egypt, sought to check their advance, but his troops were repelled.[4] The Christians encamped near the city for a few days; from their encampments they sent small detachments to ravage the adjacent districts, and in this wise they secured much booty. While here they encountered many poisonous snakes, but the natives taught them a remedy against

[1] In commerce Sidon played an unimportant rôle during the period of the Crusades. Cp. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker, passim.*

[2] William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, X, 19.

[3] William of Tyre, VII, 22; Peter Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, XIII, 13; *Abbreviatus*, c. 48; *Historia Peregrinorum*, c. 98; Fulcherius Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I, 25; *Gesta Tancredi*, c. 111; Robertus Monachus, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, VIII, 19; Baldricus, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, IV, 8; Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, V, 40.

[4] William of Tyre, VII, 22; Albertus Aquensis, V, 40.

their bites.[1] After the capture of Jerusalem, on July 15, 1099,[2] Godfrey of Bouillon was elected king of the newly established kingdom.[3] He died on July 18, 1100,[4] whereupon, in October of the same year, Baldwin, his brother, who had made himself master of Edessa,[5] was elected as his successor.[6] On his way to Jerusalem he passed Sidon, without molesting it.[7] At the close of the Crusade the city was still in the hands of the Moslems.

Uninterrupted intercourse with the homeland could be maintained only if the control of the coast cities could be secured, and much of the time between the first and the second Crusades[8] was spent in attempts to accomplish this result. Early in the campaign the anger of Baldwin was aroused against Sidon. In 1102 a host of Christians on its way to Europe was overtaken by a tempest off the coast of Sidon. Many of the ships were wrecked, and great numbers of the Christians were either drowned, or captured by the Moslems in Sidon.[9] In the following year the Sidonians sent help to Acco and Tripolis, which were besieged by the Christians.[10] To punish the inhabitants for these expressions of hostility Baldwin led an army against Sidon in 1107. "In the year 501—*i.e.*, 1107–1108—Baldwin, the Frank, the lord of Jerusalem, went to besiege Sidon."[11] When the citizens heard of the extensive preparations for an attack, they offered to the king a large amount of money, if he would raise the siege. The negotiations continued for some time, and finally the king, who was in need of money, withdrew, on the payment

[1] Albertus Aquensis, V, 40.
[2] William of Tyre, VIII, 14ff.
[3] *Id.*, IX, 2. [4] *Id.*, IX, 23. [5] *Id.*, IV, 2, 3. [6] *Id.*, X, 1.
[7] *Id.*, X, 6; Fulcherius Carnotensis, II, 3; *Gesta Francorum*, c. 43; Albertus Aquensis, VII, 34.
[8] 1099–1147 A.D. [9] Albertus Aquensis, IX, 18.
[10] *Id.*, IX, 19, 32.
[11] Abû'l Maḥâsin, *Nujûm az-Zâhira, year* 501. It seems most convenient to give the references to the Arabic historians of the Crusades under the years in which they record the events alluded to. Where the records are lengthy more specific references are given. Unless otherwise stated the texts used are those published in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Orientaux*, Vol. I–IV.

of 15,000 Byzantines.[1] However, the Sidonians soon gave cause for new complaint. They united with the people of Ascalon, Tyre, and Beyrut in an attack upon Christian pilgrims and upon the cities of Joppa and Ramleh.[2] For this new treachery Baldwin determined to visit severe judgment upon Sidon, and in the following year he enclosed the city from the sea side as well as from the land.[3] Everything progressed favorably until at the last moment, when the capture of the city seemed imminent, the arival of an Egyptian fleet brought relief to the city.[4] The struggle continued for a while longer, with heavy losses on both sides; but at last, when Baldwin was informed that Atabek Toghtekin of Damascus was approaching with 15,000 men,[5] he raised the siege.[6] Though the Sidonians had promised to pay 30,000 pieces of gold for the aid of Damascus, when Toghtekin came they refused to pay it; whereupon he besieged the city for ten days, and even threatened to recall Baldwin; finally, on the payment of 9,000 pieces, he withdrew.

From Sidon Baldwin turned against Tripolis and Beyrut; the former fell on June 10, 1109, the latter in April, 1110. After the capture of Beyrut he again threatened Sidon, and once more he withdrew on the payment of a sum of money and returned to Jerusalem, whither the pilgrim festivities called him.[7] But soon he returned, determined to besiege the city in earnest. A full account of the events leading to the occupation of the city has been preserved by the Arabic historian Ibn-al-Athîr:[8] "There had arrived in Syria from beyond the sea a fleet of sixty vessels, filled with men and provisions. The fleet was under the command of a king from among the Franks,[9] who desired to visit the Holy City, and to make himself, as he believed, accept-

[1] Albertus Aquensis, X, 3–8; cp. 18, 58; XI, 1. [2] *Id.*, X, 9. [3] *Id.*, X, 48.

[4] Abû'l Muzaffar, *Mir'ât az-Zamân, year* 501; Albertus Aquensis, X, 49.

[5] *Id.*, X, 50, 53. [6] *Id.*, X, 53.

[7] Abû'l Muzaffar, *year* 503. To the same event may refer Albertus Aquensis, XI, 11, though the dates of the two accounts seem to vary. It is difficult to determine exactly the dates of the several attacks upon Sidon.

[8] *Al-Kâmil, year* 504. [9] He means Sigur, king of Norway.

able to God by making war against the Moslems. This king united with Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, and it was agreed between them to overrun the possessions of the Moslems. They departed therefore from Jerusalem, and arrived before Sidon on the third day of *Rabî the second.*[1] The city was pressed from sea and land. At this time the Egyptian fleet was detained at Tyre, and could not come to the assistance of the besieged. The Franks constructed a barricade of wood and made it very solid; they made it also proof against fire and against stones. Then they began their attacks. When the inhabitants saw this their courage failed, and they feared that they would have to endure the same fate as the inhabitants of Beyrut. They sent, therefore, the Kadi of their city and several of their sheikhs as delegates to the Franks, and asked permission of their king to capitulate. The king promised safety for their lives, their possessions, and the troops of the garrison. Everyone was to be free to remain in the city or to depart from it. The king made these agreements under oath. The governor and several of the principal men of the city started on the journey on the twentieth day of *Jumâda the first,*[2] and went to Damascus. But many persons after capitulating remained in their places. The siege lasted for forty-seven days. Baldwin returned to Jerusalem, but a short time afterward he returned to Sidon and imposed upon the inhabitants of the city who had remained in their homes a tax of 20,000 dinars and thus impoverished them.'"[3] After

[1] Oct. 19, 1110. [2] Dec. 4, 1110.

[3] See also William of Tyre, XI, 14; Yâḳût, *Mu'jam al-buldân*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, p. 441; Abû'l-Muẓaffar, *Mir'ât az-Zamân*, *year* 503; Abû'l-Maḥâsin, *Rec. des hist. des crois., Or.*, III, p. 488; Abû'l-Fidâ, *Mukhtaṣar ta'rîkh al bašar*, *year* 504. Fulcherius Carnotensis, II, 44; *Gesta Franc.*, Variant to c. 72. *Histor. Hieros.*, Pars II, c. 24; Albertus Aquensis, XI, 31–34; *Hist. Nicæna vel Antioch.*, c. 73; cp. 77. Benedictus, *Hist. Gotefridi*, IV, c. 17; *Li estoire de Jerusalem et d'Antioche*, III, c. 8. *Annales de Terre Sainte*, in *Archives de l'orient latin*, II, 2, p. 430. There are differences in detail between some of these writers. William of Tyre, for example, dates the capture of the city in December, 1111; the *Annales de Terre Sainte* in May, 1110; Abû'l-Muẓaffar

the capitulation of the city it was given to Eustachius Grenier, lord of Cæsarea.[1]

In the autumn of 1111 Baldwin commenced the siege of Tyre,[2] in which he was assisted by Eustachius Grenier, the lord of Sidon and Cæsarea. The siege continued for about four months, when the Christians returned to Jerusalem, because they heard that an army of 20,000 men, under the leadership of Toghtekin, was coming to the relief of the city. While the Crusaders lay before Tyre, the Christians in Sidon sent to them provisions by sea, whereupon Toghtekin turned upon the Sidonian boats, killed some of the men aboard, and destroyed some of the ships.[3]

After the death of Baldwin I, on April 7, 1118, his nephew Baldwin, whom he had appointed lord of Edessa on his own accession to the throne of Jerusalem, was elected his successor and was anointed king on Easter Sunday, April 14, 1118.[4] Soon afterward he summoned to Jerusalem the barons of the kingdom, that they might have an opportunity to swear allegiance to him. Sidon was one of the cities that recognized him as the rightful king.[5] When a few years later the king fell into the hands of the Moslems, Eustachius Grenier, lord of Sidon, was entrusted with the government.[6] One of his first acts was to send a message to the Venetian fleet, which was on its way to the Holy Land, urging it to proceed quickly, as the kingdom of Jerusalem was in dire straits; and in anticipation of the help which he

in the year 503; other Arabic historians in the year 504. Albertus Aquensis says that about 5,000 people left the city undisturbed for Ascalon. The other early writers agree with Ibn-al-Athîr.

[1] William of Tyre, XII, 17; Fulcherius Carnotensis, III, 16; *Hist. Hieros.*, Pars II, c. 37. *Hist. Nic. vel Antioch.*, c. 80. *Li estoire de Jer. et d'Ant.*, III, 13. The son of Eustachius was Girard, who became lord of Sidon—*Archives de l'or. latin*, I, 673–675; his son was Reginald, who became the successor of his father as lord of Sidon. See below, p. 91.

[2] William of Tyre, XI, 17.

[3] Abû'l-Mahâsin, *Nujûm az-Zâhira*, in *Rec. des histor. des crois.*, *Orientaux*, III, p. 491. Abû'l-Muzaffar, *Mir'ât az-Zamân*, *year* 505; cp. Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades*, IV, p. 30.

[4] William of Tyre, XII, 3, 4.

[5] Albertus Aquensis, XII, 30.

[6] William of Tyre, XII, 17.

expected they would render, he promised to the Venetians certain possessions and privileges in Sidon and other cities of the kingdom.[1] A few years later, in 1126, Sidon was threatened by an Egyptian fleet, which went along the coast as far north as Beyrut. There it was defeated while getting water, whereupon it returned hastily to Egypt without molesting the coast cities any further.[2] Three years later the Patriarch Gormund died in Sidon, from an illness which attacked him during the siege of the castle Belhasam near Sidon.[3]

To this general period belong the troubles in the Eastern Church which involved the Bishop of Sidon. Tyre had been without an archbishop for several years preceding April 28, 1128, when William, the Prior of the Holy Sepulchre, was elevated to the office. He found that during the interval between the death of his predecessor Odo and his own election several of the suffragan bishops, among them the Bishop of Sidon, had ceased to recognize the authority of Tyre. The bitterness of the long struggle between the new archbishop and the rebellious bishops was intensified by the jealousies of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. Finally, through the earnest efforts of Pope Innocent II, who addressed letters of conciliation to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and to the rebellious bishops, among them Bernard of Sidon,[4] and even sent an apostolic delegate, who landed in Sidon,[5] peace was restored, and the Bishop of Sidon accepted once more the authority of the Archbishop of Tyre, to whose diocese Sidon had belonged for many centuries.[6] In the absence of all direct information, we may assume, that during the reigns of Baldwin II and his immediate successors the lord of Sidon remained loyal to the kings of Jerusalem and aided them in their undertakings against the Moslems.

[1] William of Tyre, XII, 25. [2] Fulcherius Carnotensis, III, 56.
[3] William of Tyre, XIII, 25. [4] *Id.*, XIV, 13, 14. [5] *Id.*, XV, 11.
[6] See above, p. 79; also William of Tyre, XIII, 2. *Publ. de la soc. de l'or. latin*, Sér. géogr., I, p. 331; III, 11, 15. In 1205 the Bishop of Halberstadt, who administered the diocese of Tyre during the absence of the archbishop, consecrated a Bishop of Sidon; see *Exuviæ Const.*, I, p. 16.

In 1151 the Egyptian fleet attacked Sidon and other coast cities,[1] and six years later an earthquake did much damage to Sidon, Beyrut, Tripolis, Acco, Tyre, and "all the strongholds of the Franks."[2] In the following year, on May 10th, Nûr-addîn left Damascus to attack Jir-el-Khaḥab. Before he arrived there Ased-addîn, with the Turcoman horsemen who formed his army, had devastated the territory of Sidon and the adjacent districts and had secured rich booty. He had also caught in an ambush Frank soldiers who had made a sortie from Sidon, had slain a great many of them, and had made the rest prisoners, among them the son of the commander of the citadel of Harim. The Moslems had not lost a single soldier.[3] The forces of Nûr-addîn came into the neighborhood of Sidon in 1165, for the purpose of capturing a fortress or cavern located there. The garrison was bribed into surrender; but the commander was seized, brought to Sidon and hanged for treason.[4] Seven years later, in 1172, Amalric, the king of Jerusalem, was in Sidon, in council with his nobles to consider a serious outrage committed by a Knight Templar. On Mount Lebanon dwelt a small sect called Assassins, under the rule of a sheikh. This sheikh sent word to the king that he was ready to embrace Christianity, if the Templars would release his subjects living near their castles

[1] Ibn Muyassar, continuation of Al Musabbihi, *Kitâb akhbâr Misr*, year 546.

[2] Abû'l Mahâsin, *Nujûm az Zâhira*, year 552.

[3] Abû Shâma, *year* 553, see *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Orientaux*, IV, p. 98. Under *year* 556 = A.D. 1161, Ibn al Athîr reports the following: "The Frank lord of Sidon took refuge with Nûr-addîn Maḥmud, who granted it to him, and sent him away with an escort. They were attacked on the road, some were slain, the others fled." The lord of Sidon in 1161 was Girard, the son of Eustachius Grenier—*Archives de l'or. latin*, I, p. 674. The author does not state why he fled to Nûr-addîn, and, so far as we know, there was no occasion for it, hence it is not improbable that the Arabic historian is in error concerning the person. He may have in mind the flight of Ṡawir, the vizier of Egypt, to Nûr-addîn, who supplied him with an escort, which was defeated by the Sultan Dargan. William of Tyre, XIX, 7; cp. Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, III, 2, p. 83.

[4] William of Tyre, XIX, 11. The author must be mistaken when he says that the hostile forces were under the command of Ṡirku, the commander in chief of Nûr-addîn, for he was in Egypt at that time.

from the annual payment of 2,000 pieces of gold. The king, who received the news gladly, offered to compensate the Templars out of his own treasury. As the messenger of the sheikh, accompanied by a royal escort, was returning to his own land, he was assassinated by one of the Templars. The king, full of wrath, came to Sidon and demanded reparation: when it was refused by the commander of the Templars, he ordered the murderer to be seized by force and thrown into prison at Tyre.[1]

Meanwhile a new and powerful foe of the Christians was appearing on the horizon. Šawir, who had been reinstated as vizier of Egypt by Širku, the commander-in-chief of Nûr-addin, soon ceased his allegiance to the latter. Whereupon Širku returned to Egypt, overthrew Šawir, and assumed the vizierate himself. On both expeditions Širku was accompanied by his nephew Ṣalâḥ-addin Yusuf-ibn-Ayyub,[2] who on the death of his uncle in 1169 became his successor. The last of the Fatimite caliphs died in 1171, when Saladin became the sole ruler of the kingdom, though he did not proclaim himself sultan until after the death of Nûr-addin in 1174. Between that year and 1183 he succeeded in driving the successors of Nûr-addin from Syria and the greater part of Mesopotamia. Though he came in frequent contact with the Christians during these years, he did not commence active operations against them until after he had made himself master of Mohammedan Syria. In 1179 he came for the first time into the vicinity of Sidon and devastated the fields around the city.[3] Soon afterwards he defeated Baldwin near Paneas, when many of the fleeing Christians took refuge in Sidon. Reginald, the lord of that city, who was leading his men to the aid of the king, might have saved the day, had he not turned back as soon as he heard of the misfortune that had befallen the king's army.[4] Three years later Saladin was again in the neighborhood of Sidon.[5] Finally, in 1187, when Reginald de Chatillon treacherously broke the truce

[1] William of Tyre, XX, 29, 30.
[2] Anglicized *Saladin*.
[3] William of Tyre, XXI, 28.
[4] *Id.*, XXI, 29.
[5] *Id.*, XXII, 20.

established two years before, and captured a caravan of Moslems,[1] Saladin determined to strike the kingdom of Jerusalem a more effective blow. The Crusaders were defeated in the battle of Tiberias on July 4, with a loss of 30,000 men,[2] and the king fell into the hands of the enemy.[3] The sultan advanced immediately against other cities in Palestine. Nazareth and Acco were taken without difficulty;[4] the citadel of Tibnin fell after six days. He then decided upon the capture of Tyre, but seeing its strength, he marched toward Sidon.[5] The Arabic historians represent him as proceeding directly to Sidon from Tibnin. "From Tibnin," says Ibn-al-Athîr,[6] "Saladin departed for Sidon. On the way he passed close by Sarepta and took it by capitulation, without a battle. Then he resumed his march to Sidon. This city was one of the most frequented places in maritime Syria. When the lord of Sidon heard that the sultan was coming against him he departed from the city, leaving it without defenders. On his arrival Saladin won it immediately by capitulation. This event took place on the 21st day of *Jumâda the first.*" To this account Abû-Šâma, quoting from Al-Imâd, adds[7] that the banner of Saladin was hoisted, public prayer was offered, the confession of the Moslem faith was made, and submission to Allah took the place of the impious revolt. The territory of Sidon was restored to Reginald, its former lord,[8] who had allied himself with Saladin.[9] Jerusalem fell on October 2d of the same year.[10]

[1] Abû'l-Fidâ, *Mukhtaṣar ta'rîkh al bašar, year* 582.

[2] William of Tyre, XXIII, 40. For convenience sake the same designation is retained, though in Book XXIII begins the work of the continuators of William of Tyre.

[3] *Id.*, XXIII, 44. [4] *Id.*, XXIII, 46, 47. [5] *Id.*, XXIII, 47.

[6] *Al Kâmil, year* 583; cp. also Abû'l-Fidâ, *Mukhtaṣar ta'rîkh al bašar, year* 583; Yâķût, *Mu'jam al-buldân*, IV, 162; William of Tyre, XXIII, 47. *Hist. Godfridi*, c. 47. Bahâ-addîn, the biographer of Saladin, says—*Rec. des histor. des crois., Orientaux*, III, p. 98—that he took the city the day after his arrival. [7] *Year* 583; see *Recueil des histor. des croisades, Orientaux*, IV, p. 308.

[8] See *Archives de l'or. lat.*, II, 2, p. 145.

[9] See variant on p. 111 of Vol. II of *Rec. des histor. des crois., Occidentaux*; also on p. 198; William of Tyre, XXVI, 17. [10] William of Tyre, XXIII, 61.

The news of the loss of the Holy City aroused the Christians in Europe to new activity, which culminated in another Crusade,[1] under the leadership of Frederic Barbarossa of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard the Lion-hearted of England. Frederic was drowned soon after he reached Syria; Richard and Philip captured Acco after a prolonged siege, but the two kings quarreled so bitterly that Philip returned home soon after the fall of the city. During the siege of Acco, which lasted from August, 1189, to June, 1191, Sidon, then in possession of Reginald, a vassal of Saladin, sent provisions to the Moslems in Acco.[2] Reginald played an important part in the negotiations between Conrad de Montferrat, lord of Tyre, and Saladin. Conrad had brought upon himself the wrath of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities by marrying Isabel, the divorced wife of Humphrey of Toron.[3] The hostility of Richard, however, was due not so much to this fact as to personal envy and jealousy, for Conrad was one of the bravest and at the same time one of the most popular of the Christian leaders; so much so that he was elected king of Jerusalem with great enthusiasm. But Richard made life so unpleasant for Conrad that the latter decided finally to cast his lot with Saladin. He offered to make peace with him and turn against the Franks, on condition that the two cities of Sidon and Beyrut be given to him.[4] Reginald of Sidon acted as intermediary between the two parties,[5] but before all arrangements could be completed Conrad was assassinated.[6] Richard was unable to accomplish very much, and was finally compelled to make peace with Saladin. At the close of the Crusade Sidon was still in the possession of Saladin.[7]

In 1193 Saladin died.[8] For several years there was so much

[1] 1189–1191.

[2] Ibn-al-Athîr, *Al Kâmil, year* 586; *Recueil des hist. des croisades, Orientaux*, II, p. 32.

[3] Bahâ-addîn, *Rec. des histor., Orientaux*, III, p. 283; cp. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, IV, p. 307.

[4] Bahâ-addîn, *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Orientaux*, III, p. 270.

[5] *Ib.*, p. 283.

[6] *Ib.*, p. 297.

[7] William of Tyre, XXVI, 17.

[8] *Id.*, XXVII, 1.

strife among his successors that the Christians remained undisturbed. However, in 1197 Joppa was attacked and captured by Malik-al-Âdil.[1] In the same year died King Henry of Jerusalem, and was succeeded by Amalric, king of Cyprus, who determined to recover, if possible, all the territory lost to Saladin. Orders were issued that all the Crusaders should gather at Tyre, whence they were to proceed to Beyrut, the first point of attack. When Malik-al-Âdil heard of these preparations he decided at once to destroy the places which he feared he would not be able to hold against the Christians, and to move the inhabitants with their possessions to more distant regions. Immediately he dispatched an army to Beyrut to destroy it, but on the promise of Usâma, the lord of the city, that he could hold it against the Crusaders, the soldiers desisted from the work of destruction after the outer walls had been broken down. Meanwhile the Christians advanced from Tyre. Near Sidon the two armies met and a bloody battle ensued, which ended in victory for the Crusaders, who then advanced against Beyrut,[2] which they took with ease. While they were in Beyrut, Al-Âdil sent troops to Sidon with orders to demolish the entire city.[3]

The expectations of Amalric were not realized; therefore in the following year he was glad to make a truce with Malik-al-Âdil of Damascus and Malik-al-Asis of Egypt. This truce was maintained until 1203, when new hostilities broke out. Some Christians on the coast of Cyprus were robbed by the sultan's sailors, and when Amalric made complaint he could obtain no satisfaction. He therefore captured, near Acco, a number of Egyptian ships laden with grain and other goods, and otherwise harassed the possessions of Al-Âdil. But the latter showed so

[1] William of Tyre, XXVII, 2–4.

[2] Arnold Lubec., V, 5, states that after the battle the Christian army made a brief stay in Sidon. This can only mean that they encamped in the fields near the city. Had they entered the city itself, it is not probable that they would have left it again for the sake of occupying a less prominent town.

[3] Ibn-al-Athîr, *year* 593; *Recueil des hist. des crois., Orientaux*, II, p. 86. Gunther Parisiensis, *Exuviæ Constant.*, I, p. 63, states that in 1200 Sidon was still in the hands of the sultan.

little interest in the renewal of hostilities that it did not come to a serious engagement; and when in the early autumn of the next year pestilence broke out, which thinned the ranks of the Christian armies and caused others to return home or go to Constantinople, both sides were ready to renew the truce.[1] Al-Âdil was the more willing to bring hostilities to a close because his presence was needed in Egypt,[2] which was in danger of an attack from Constantinople.[3] Therefore he even made certain concessions to the Christians; he restored to them Nazareth and a few other towns, and ceded to them one-half of the revenue which he received from Sidon and other places. As soon as the negotiations were completed he went to Egypt.[4]

After the death of Amalric in 1205,[5] the sultan, who thought the truce dissolved by the death of the king of Jerusalem, showed inclinations to harass the Christians, but neither side was prepared for hostilities. As a result the truce was renewed, and it was maintained until 1217, when the arrival of reinforcements from the west led the Christians to break it and renew the war.[6] Acco was selected as the centre of operations. Two expeditions made from there proved successful, but on a third, undertaken about the middle of December, they suffered a terrible defeat. A part of the Christian army attacked the Moslems near Sidon, when the inhabitants of the mountainous region behind Sidon fell upon them and slew many; others perished from the cold, so that only a few returned to Acco.[7] Discouraged by this disaster many of the Crusaders left the Holy Land, while those who remained did not feel strong enough to continue hostilities until reinforcements arrived in the spring of the following year.

[1] William of Tyre, XXVIII, 12.

[2] He had become Sultan of Egypt after the death of Malik-al-Asis.

[3] Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge,* VI, p. 50.

[4] Ibn-al-Athîr, *year* 600; *Recueil des hist. des crois., Orientaux,* II, p. 96.

[5] William of Tyre, XXX, 11.

[6] *Id.,* XXXI, 10, 11. In 1214 Bishop Raoul of Sidon was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem; *id.,* XXXI, 8; *Archives de l'or. lat.,* II, 2, p. 436.

[7] William of Tyre, XXXI, 12; Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale,* in *Publ. de la soc. de l'or. lat.,* Sér. hist., III, p. 99.

When the new forces were organized an invasion of Egypt was decided upon. The chief attack was directed against Damietta, which yielded in 1219.

The war continued until 1221, when Malik-al-Kâmil[1] sought peace. He offered to restore to the Christians Jerusalem, Ascalon, Tiberias, Sidon, Gebala, Ladikiya, and all the places Saladin had taken from them in maritime Syria, with the exception of Karak, if they would vacate Damietta.[2] The proposition was refused; but soon the tide turned in favor of the sultan, and when a new truce was agreed upon, which was to last for eight years, it was decidedly unfavorable to the Christians.[3]

When the Christians in the west heard of the losses sustained by the Crusaders they determined to send reinforcements; but not until 1227 did any considerable number of pilgrims reach the Holy Land. Of the first company a group of German and English pilgrims went to Sidon, which was then partly in ruins. Since the rebuilding of the whole city seemed too difficult a task, they were content with erecting a citadel upon an island before the harbor of Sidon, which they completed in 1228.[4] Then they turned to Cæsarea and restored the citadel there. On the completion of these acts of piety most of them felt that they had performed their whole duty and went home. In the following year the Emperor of Germany, Frederic II, led a new army of Crusaders into the Holy Land. Concerning this expedition Ibn-al-Athîr writes:[5] "In that year many Franks came to the coast of Syria. They had been preceded by others, who, however, had been unable to accomplish anything, partly because of the absence of their leader, the prince of the Germans, and partly because Al-Muaddham, an intelligent, brave, and energetic

[1] He succeeded Al-Âdil in 1218.

[2] Ibn-al-Athîr, *Recueil des hist. des crois., Orientaux*, II, p. 122; cp. William of Tyre, XXXII, 9; Jacques de Vitry, *ep.*, IV.

[3] William of Tyre, XXXII, 16; cp. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, VI, p. 346ff.

[4] William of Tyre, XXXII, 25; XXXIII, 4; Phil. de Navarre, § 125; see also above, p. 4. A variant—*Rec. des histor. des crois., Occid.*, II, p. 371—says that the Germans built another castle which they called "Frank Castle."

[5] *Al Kâmil year* 625.

prince, was still alive. But when he died and was succeeded by his son, the Franks took courage and made themselves masters of Acco, Tyre, Beyrut, and the city of Sidon, only part of which had previously been in their power.'' From this narrative it would seem that Sidon and the other cities named were taken by force of arms. This is not probable, for Frederic appears to have accomplished his ends through diplomacy. The continuator of William of Tyre is probably nearer the truth when he states that the part of the city of Sidon which was still in the hands of the Moslems was returned to Frederic as one of the conditions of the truce made on February 24, 1229, which was to continue for ten years five months and some days.[1] At that time the entire city of Sidon passed once more into the hands of the Christians.

Notwithstanding the truce, hostilities between Christians and Moslems continued without interruption. That neither gained any decided advantages was due to the fact that both sides were torn by bloody quarrels. Among the Christians the leaders of the two factions were John of Ibelin, lord of Beyrut, and Richard, representative of Frederic II, both of whom claimed the throne of Jerusalem. In these struggles Balian, the lord of Sidon, sided with Ibelin.[2] Among the Moslems the factional warfare was even more bitter. Malik-al-Asraf of Damascus died in 1237, and appointed as his successor Malik-aṣ-Ṣâliḥ-Ismâʿil, prince of Baalbek and Basra, who, however, was quickly driven out by the Sultan of Egypt, Kâmil. When the latter died in 1238, his son Malik-al-Âdil was recognized by the nobles of the realm as Sultan of Egypt and Damascus. This was not to the liking of his brother, Malik-aṣ-Ṣâliḥ-Ayyub, who put him out of the way and in 1240 made himself ruler of Egypt and Damascus. In the same year Malik-aṣ-Ṣâliḥ-Ismâʿil returned to Damascus, and quickly made himself master of the city and of the throne. Fearing that he would not be strong enough to defend the city against

[1] William of Tyre, XXXIII, 8; cp. Röhricht, *Die Kreuzfahrt Friedrich II*, p. 26; Kugler, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, p. 339.

[2] William of Tyre, XXXIII, 24, 28, 29, 34; Phil. de Navarre, §§ 182, 183.

Ayyub, he entered into an alliance with the Christians, promising them, in return for their aid, the restoration of several places which at that time were in his power.[1] When Ayyub heard of this alliance he summoned to his aid the Kharesmians, wild hordes of Turks roaming around in the Euphrates and Tigris regions. They responded eagerly, entered Syria, captured Jerusalem in 1244, and assisted Ayyub in other ways to recover control of Syria and Palestine.

The loss of Jerusalem and the threatening advance of the Mongols called forth another Crusade,[2] under the leadership of Louis IX of France. He directed his first attack against Egypt. Early successes were followed by disasters, until finally Louis was captured. After he had secured his release by the payment of an enormous ransom,[3] he went in 1250 to Acco, but being without resources he could accomplish little. While waiting for reinforcements he determined to fortify Acco, Sidon, and Cæsarea. At first he encountered no obstacles, because fresh hostilities had broken out between Damascus and Egypt. But when in 1253 the difficulties between the Sultan of Damascus and the Emirs of Egypt were adjusted, the Moslems at once turned their attention to the Christians. The first engagement took place near Joppa, then Acco was besieged, and finally Sidon was attacked. This city had been destroyed by the troops of Ayyub during the campaign of Louis in Egypt,[4] but after his arrival in Palestine he had ordered the rebuilding of the city. The order had been partly carried out, under the direction of Simon de Montsceliart, when the new attack occurred. Simon, realizing the impossibility of holding the city against a numerous army, retired to the citadel with his troops and as many of the inhabit-

[1] William of Tyre, XXXIII, 48, names among the districts to be restored *la terre de Sajette*, which denotes ordinarily the land of Sidon; but it cannot be meant here, because Sidon had been returned to the Christians eleven years before. *Sajette* may be an error for *Safed*; cp. also Phil. de Nav. § 215.

[2] 1248–1254.

[3] See Kugler, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, pp. 364–372.

[4] *Chron. of the Crusades*, p. 545; cp. Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades*, IV, p. 453.

ants as could find room there. The enemy entered the city without opposition, slaughtered 2,000 of the inhabitants, and after pillaging the town departed for Damascus.[1] On hearing the news of this calamity the king was much depressed, but at the suggestion of his barons he issued a new order for the immediate rebuilding and fortification of the city. The task was completed in 1254,[2] and soon after Louis returned to his homeland.

In the following year a truce was agreed upon, which was to continue for ten years. But soon a new danger threatened the cities of Syria, both Christian and Moslem. For some time the Mongols had been extending their territory in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. In 1260 they turned southward and invaded Syria. Before the close of the year Sidon brought upon itself the wrath of their leader, Kethboga. In the vicinity of Beaufort, which belonged to the lord of Sidon, there were a few Moslem villages which were subject to the Mongols. The Franks living in Sidon and Beaufort fell treacherously upon these villages, slew some of the inhabitants and carried away others with their flocks. A nephew of Kethboga, who demanded the return of the prisoners, they slew, and the demands of the leader himself they treated with scorn. The latter, who until then had been favorably inclined toward the Christians, became furious and advanced immediately against Sidon, which he reduced to a heap of ruins. The inhabitants took refuge in the citadel upon the island,[3] which he was unable to take. Julian, the lord of Sidon[4] and Beaufort, who desired to withdraw from the world and enter the order of Trinitarians,[5] sold the ruins to the Templars.[6]

[1] Joinville, *Mémoires*, p. 357. William of Tyre, XXXIV, 2, gives the number of the slain as 800 or more, and states that 400 were taken prisoners.

[2] Joinville, p. 358; W. T., XXXIV, 2.

[3] See above, p. 94.

[4] *Archives de l'or. lat.*, II, 2, p. 445.

[5] William of Tyre, XXXIV, 20.

[6] *Id.*, XXXIV, 3; *Chron. du templ. de Tyr*, in *Publ. de la soc. l'or. lat.*, Sér. histor., V, § 303; cp. 308; *Archives de l'or. lat.*, II, 2, p. 449. Julian was the son of Giles, lord of Sidon, who died in 1247—*Chron.*, in *Publ.*, *hist.*, V, § 260—the son of Balian, lord of Sidon—Phil. de Navarre, *ib.*, § 116; *Chron. de Terre Sainte*, *ib.*, § 90; *Archives*, II, 2, pp. 151, 153, 166, 167, 437, 438.

The Mongols could not maintain themselves in Syria, and in a little while the supremacy passed again into the hands of the Moslems. In the year in which Sidon was destroyed by the Mongols Malik-aṭ-ṭhâhir-Baibars became Sultan of Egypt. In the beginning he treated the Christians with friendly consideration, but in 1261 hostilities broke out. After a year's fighting a truce was declared, which three years later was broken by the Christians. When they saw that the war was going against them [1] they asked for peace, declaring their willingness to accept as one of the conditions the division of Sidon.[2] At first the sultan hesitated, because he had heard that meanwhile the Franks had made an attack upon Maḥghâra;[3] but in the following year a ten-year truce was proclaimed, one of the conditions being the division of Sidon. The Franks were to retain the districts in the plain, Baibars was to occupy the hills.[4]

During the closing years of the struggle between Christians and Moslems Sidon remained in the background.[5] However, the city became involved in the difficulties which arose between Boemund, lord of Tripolis, and the order of the Templars, and in 1279 the former sent a fleet to Sidon which did much damage and carried away rich booty.[6]

The end of the kingdom of Jerusalem was approaching rapidly. The west began to see the hopelessness of the struggle and ceased to send reinforcements, while the limited resources in Palestine were expended by the Christian leaders in fighting one another. When in 1290 the Christians broke the truce which had been agreed upon only a short time before, and afterwards refused to surrender the guilty parties, the sultan declared war.[7] The

[1] From *Archives de l'or. lat.*, II, 1, 382, it would seem that an army threatened Sidon.

[2] Badr-addîn al 'Ainî, *'Ikd al-jumân, year* 665.

[3] *Ib.*; cp. *Archives de l'orient latin*, II, 1, p. 388.

[4] Badr-addîn, *year* 666; *Recueil des hist. des crois., Orientaux*, II, p. 236; *Arch. de l'or. lat.*, II, 1, p. 394.

[5] In 1274 Adam of Romery became Bishop of Sidon, W. T., XXXIV, 19.

[6] *Chron. du templ. de Tyr*, in *Publ. de la soc. de l'orient latin*, Sér. histor., Vol. V, § 400.

[7] Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, VII, p. 719ff.

first blow was directed against Acco, then the principal city of the Christians on the coast, and after a two months' siege the Saracens became masters of the city in 1291. The Templars who escaped from Acco fled to Sidon, intending to make a stand there; but when the Moslems made preparations to besiege the city from land and sea they withdrew to Cyprus, whereupon city and citadel were razed to the ground. "After the fall of Acco," says Abû'l-Fidâ, "God filled the hearts of the Franks who were still in Syria with terror. They evacuated Sidon and Beyrut, which two cities were occupied by Aš-Šajai during the last week of *Rajab*."[1]

Thus, after many vicissitudes, Sidon, a renowned and populous city at the beginning of the Crusades, returned at the close to the Moslems, little more than a heap of ruins.

Appendix to Chapter VI

The writings of the pilgrims who visited Sidon during the period of the Crusades throw little light upon its history. Saewulf, who undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1102–1103, mentions Sidon as still in the hands of "Duke Raymund," *i.e.*, Raymond, Count of Toulouse.[2] The Russian Abbot Daniel, 1106 or 1107, refers only incidentally to the city.[3] The guide to Palestine which goes under the name of Fretellus, written c. 1130, mentions several traditions connected with Sidon: "Fourteen miles from Tyre is Sidon. Sidon was founded by Sidon, the firstborn of Canaan, the son of Ham, from whom the Sidonians are descended. In Tyre and Sidon reigned Phœnix, who was the brother of Cadmus of Thebes in Egypt, who came to Syria.[4]

[1] *Mukhtaṣar ta'rîkh al bašar, year* 690; *Chron. du templ. de Tyr*, §§ 509–518. *Annales de Terre Sainte*, in *Archives de l'or. lat.*, II, 2, p. 460, places the attack in the year 1290.

[2] *P. P. T.*, Vol. IV, p. 127.

[3] *Publ. de la soc. de l'or. lat.*, Sér. géogr., IV, p. 54.

[4] See note 10 on p. 10; also p. 20; cp. Stephenus Byzantius, s.v. *φοινίκη*, Eustathius, *ad Dionys.*, *l.* 905.

From his name he called those people Phœnicians, and the whole province Phœnicia, of which Tyre had the first rank. . . . . From the confines of Tyre and Sidon came the Canaanite woman who said to Jesus, 'Son of David, have mercy upon me.' . . . . Six miles from Sidon, above the sea, toward Tyre, is Sarepta of the Sidonians. In the mountains of Sidon and Sarepta is Gethacofer,[1] the town from which came Jonah. Of Sidon was Dido, who built Carthage in Africa.[2] Sidon was acquired by the Phœnicians and held by them; they confirmed its name Sidon on account of the abundance of fish, because in their language *sidon* means fish.''[3] John of Würzburg, in the latter half of the twelfth century, says: ''Six miles from Sarepta is Sidon, a famous city, from which came Dido, who founded Carthage in Africa.''[4] Joannes Phocas, c. 1185, has left this description: ''Next comes Sidon with the famous twin harbor, whose situation has been admirably described by the historian of Leucippe;[5] for if you visit the place, with its harbor and outer harbor, you will find the reality agreeing with the description given in his writings. Outside the city, at a distance of about three bowshots, stands a church, surrounded by a colonnade of great length, upon the upper part of the apse of which is placed a four-sided stone, whereon, according to the report of the vulgar, Christ, the Saviour of the world, used to stand and teach the multitude.''[6] Theodoric, c. 1172, speaks of Sidon as a ''noble city, from which came Dido, who founded Carthage in Africa.''[7] Anonymous pilgrim V, 2,[8] toward the close of the twelfth century, says that in Sidon resided a bishop, who was a suffragan bishop of the Archbishop of Tyre.[9] Anonymous pilgrim VI, called *Pseudo-*

[1] According to 2 K. 14: 25 the home of Jonah was in Gathhepher. The same place is mentioned in Josh. 19: 13. It is identified with the present village of el-Meshhed.

[2] Cp. Virgil, *Æn.*, I, 446, 613.

[3] *P. P. T.*, V, 50, 51.

[4] *Ib.*, V, p. 63.

[5] Achilles Tatius; see above, p. 4.

[6] *Rec. des histor. des crois., Grecs*, I, p. 531.

[7] *P. P. T.*, V, p. 72.

[8] The term *Anonymous* is applied to several pilgrims whose names have not been preserved.

[9] *Ib.*, VI, p. 31.

Beda, also in the twelfth century, writes: "Six miles from Sarepta is Sidon, whence came Dido, who built Carthage in Africa. Sidon is, being interpreted, 'seeking after sorrow'; Tyre, 'trading.' It was from these parts of Tyre and Sidon that the Canaanitish woman came to Jesus." [1]

[1] *Ib.,* VI, p. 49

CHAPTER VII

TO THE PRESENT DAY

After the expulsion of the Christians and the reëstablishment of the Moslem dominion, Syria, including Phœnicia, belonged nominally to the ruler of Egypt; in reality it was parceled out among a number of minor sultans, the descendants of Saladin and his brothers.[1] Al-Dimaškî, writing about 1300 A.D., states that since the rise of the Turk power, meaning the dynasty of Saladin, Syria had been divided into nine kingdoms. Of these he gives first rank to Damascus, and Sidon he names as one of its cities.[2]

Three years before the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem, Othman or Osman I became the chief of the Turks in Phrygia. His surname *al-ghâzî*, *i.e.*, the conqueror, indicates that he was a warrior. During his reign[3] he subjected the whole of western Asia Minor to his sway.[4] From the conquest of Asia Minor and the Danubian provinces of the Byzantine empire the Turks advanced, in the middle of the fifteenth century, to Constantinople, which was taken in 1453. During the reign of Bajazid II[5] their advance was checked temporarily, but under his successor, Selim I,[6] Syria was occupied,[7] Sidon without a battle;[8] and since then Syria, including Phœnicia, has been under the rule of the Turks.

For many years subsequent to 1291 Sidon played an unimportant rôle. Centuries passed before she recovered, even in a measure, from the severe blows which she sustained during the

[1] Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 40.

[2] *Nukhbat ad-dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 201; cp. 212, 213. Yâkût, *Mu'jam al-buldân*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, 439.

[3] 1288–1325.

[4] V. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osmanischen Reiches*, p. 41ff.

[5] 1481–1512.

[6] Died September 22, 1520.

[7] In 1516.

[8] Mignot, *History of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire*, I, 270.

period of the Crusades; in fact she has never regained the splendor which was hers before that time. The last glowing description of the city is one written by Idrîsî, c. 1154. "Sidon," says he, "is a large city, where the markets are thronged and provisions are cheap. It is surrounded by gardens and trees, water is plenty, and it has broad outlying districts. The city owns four districts, which lie contiguous to the Lebanon mountains. The first is the district of Jazîn, through which runs the *wâdy-al-Hirr*, which is noted for its fertility and the abundance of its fruits. The second is the district as-Surbah, which is a splendid district. The third is the district of Kafar Kîlâ. The fourth is the district of ar-Râmî, which is the name of a river that flows through the hills. These four districts contain more than six hundred domains."[1] Very different are the reports written subsequently to the thirteenth century. Abû'l-Fidâ, c. 1321, says, "It is a small town, but fortified."[2] A guide book to Palestine, compiled c. 1350, does indeed call Sidon a "famous city,"[3] but the epithet refers to the past history rather than to the present. From the same period comes the testimony of Ludolf of Sudheim, who calls Sidon "a seaside city, fenced about with towers and high walls, but deserted."[4] In the fifteenth century it was still without its former splendor. John Poloner, who visited the Holy Land in 1421–1422, has this to say: "Sidon is a city of Phœnicia; its ruins at this day bear witness to its greatness. . . . . Out of its ruins has been built another town, small indeed but fortified, had it but men to defend it."[5] Felix Fabri, a Dominican monk who journeyed to Palestine in 1480–1483, did not see Sidon; hence his reference to Tyre and Sidon as "great cities"[6] cannot be taken seriously.

[1] *Nuzhat al Muštâk*, ed. Gildemeister, p. 15.

[2] *Takuîm-al-buldân*, ed. Reinaud et de Slane, p. 249. See also Koehler, *Tabula Syriæ*, p. 93.

[3] *P. P. T.*, Vol. VI, p. 39.

[4] *Archives de l'orient latin*, II, 2, p. 339.

[5] *P. P. T.*, Vol. VI, p. 29. A few years before this visit, c. 1404, European pirates had raided the city. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 335.

[6] *P. P. T.*, VII, 1, p. 211.

From all these statements we may gather that after its destruction in 1291 Sidon was rebuilt and refortified, that a small population settled in the new town, and that some commerce was carried on,[1] but that Sidon could no longer be looked upon as a chief city of Phœnicia. When Sandys visited the city in 1610–1611 it still appeared in its poverty. "But this once ample city," says he, "still suffering with the often changes of those countries, is at this day contracted within narrow limits, and only shows the foundations of her greatness. . . . The town now being is not worth our description; the walls are neither fair nor of force; the haven decayed, when at best but serving for galleys. At the end of the pier stands a paltry blockhouse, furnished with suitable artillery. The mosque, the Bannia (perhaps the public bath), and Khan for merchants are the only buildings of note."[2]

Soon after Sandys' visit the city revived for a few decades. When the Druses settled in the Lebanon region, Sidon came under the sway of the Emir of the Lebanon.[3] In 1585 the Emir Korkmas was poisoned,[4] and was succeeded by his son Fakhr-addîn, a boy of fourteen years.[5] The sultan took advantage of his youth and reduced his territory by separating from it Sidon and a few other towns. As soon as Fakhr-addîn began to rule independently, he determined not only to recover the lost cities, but to wrest the whole of Syria from the sultan and establish an independent kingdom. In a short time he regained Sidon, and in addition he conquered many other cities of Syria. With this conquest opened the last period of Sidon's glory. Fakhr-addîn decided to make it his capital and a

[1] Cp. *Prise d'Alexandrie*, by Guillaume de Machaut, *l.* 5708, in *Publ. de la soc. de l'or. lat.*, Sér. histor., I, p. 173.

[2] *Relation of a journey begun in 1610*, 2d ed., p. 210.

[3] Wüstenfeld, *Fachr-ed-Din und seine Zeitgenossen*, in *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, 1885, Vol. XXXIII, p. 78. During the expedition of Ibrahim Pasha to Syria, for the purpose of bringing the Druses to obedience, a Turkish fleet landed in Sidon; *id.*, p. 84.

[4] *Z. D. M. G.*, VIII, 480.

[5] Wüstenfeld, *Fachr-ed-Din*, p. 87.

worthy centre of his new kingdom. He rebuilt the citadel and surrounded the city with a new wall. Italian architects erected for him a magnificent palace, surrounded by various other halls and palaces. These were located in the midst of gardens, terraces, and orchards, beautiful with flowers, fountains, boulevards, etc.[1] The plain surrounding the city was planted with mulberry trees. For the advancement of commerce he erected the "great Khan," so called because it was of immense size, containing many magazines and storerooms; here were located also the first European factory, the residences and warehouses of the French merchants, a drug store, residences for physicians, places of worship, etc. These accommodations attracted the commerce of the west, and since religious liberty was granted to all the city soon began to flourish in its oldtime splendor.[2]

The commerce of Sidon was at that time and for many years after almost exclusively in the hands of Frenchmen,[3] and their nation was for a long time the only European power to have a consular representative there. In a little while their trade grew to such proportions that it brought annually 200,000 crowns into the treasury of the government, and it was so essential to the welfare of the inhabitants that, says d'Arvieux, had the French removed to another place, the city would have been immediately abandoned and left deserted. From Sidon as the centre branches were established in the other coast cities, Acco, Beyrut, Tripolis, Tyre; and from it a direct route led to Damascus, of which city it was considered the port.[4] The city seemed destined to resume the leadership which it had occupied during the Persian period, when Fakhr-addîn by a single blow destroyed all prospects of permanent commercial supremacy. In

[1] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, I, p. 303ff.

[2] Wüstenfeld, *Fachr-ed-Din*, p. 87; S. Pierre, *Histoire des Druses*, Paris, 1763, p. 25.

[3] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, I, pp. 311, 398, etc.

[4] For a full description of the new splendor of Sidon, the building enterprises of Fakhr-addîn, its commerce, etc., see d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, I, 294ff., 331ff., 463ff.; III, 341ff.

order to prevent the Turkish ships from landing at Sidon he ordered the harbor to be filled up by sinking in it old boats, stones, and rubbish.[1] As a result the sun of Sidon set almost as soon as that of Fakhr-addîn in 1634. Little remained of its splendor when Henry Maundrell visited the place in 1697. "Sidon," says he, "is stocked well enough with inhabitants, but is very much shrunk from its ancient extent, and more from its splendor, as appears from a great many beautiful pillars that lie scattered up and down the gardens without the present walls. Whatever antiquities may at any time have been hereabout, they are now perfectly obscured and buried by the Turkish buildings. Upon the south side of the city, upon a hill, stands an old castle, said to be the work of Louis IX of France, surnamed the Saint, and not far from the castle is an old unfinished palace of Fakhr-addîn, serving, however, the pasha for his seraglio; neither of them worth mentioning, had the city afforded us anything else more remarkable."[2] Sidon became the seat of the pasha in 1658, and continued to be such for over a century. The pasha still resided there when Niebuhr visited the city in 1766. The city itself was in as bad condition as in the days of Maundrell. It did not have even a regular wall. The outer walls of the houses served as fortifications of the city, and where they did not join closely an effort had been made to provide a connecting wall. The citadel, which had a small garrison, whose duty it was to police the city and protect the harbor, was in miserable condition, and had just enough cannons to respond to salutes that might be fired by passing ships. The inner harbor could be entered by small vessels only.[3] Volney, who visited the city during his travels in 1784, calls Sidon the degenerate offspring of ancient Sidon, and describes it as ill built, dirty, and full of modern ruins.[4]

In return for services rendered during the Egyptian invasion

[1] Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, II, 192.

[2] *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter 1697;* Diary of March 19.

[3] *Reisebeschreibung*, III, pp. 78, 79.

[4] *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, II, p. 191.

of Syria, and for the purpose of strengthening the position of Turkey against the Druses and Metawelis who were threatening the coast cities, the sultan appointed in 1773 as Pasha of Sidon Aḥmad-al-Jazzar, the most cruel and bloodthirsty adventurer of the Turkish army. After he had pacified the rebels he entered upon a reign of terror. He caused the death of the Emir of the Druses, who had been his benefactor, in order that he might secure his treasures and other possessions; he put to death several of the Turkish pashas who were in the way of his ambitions, and the people he oppressed with extreme cruelty. As a result he had to stand in constant fear of revolts; to be prepared for these he transferred his residence from Sidon, which was without adequate defenses, to the strongly fortified Acco,[1] where he exercised his rule of terror for about a quarter of a century. When the French merchants in Sidon offered opposition to his despotism and greed and presented accusations against him before the sultan, he drove them in 1791 from the city and his other possessions.[2] This act of folly proved a serious blow to the city, for it resulted in the transfer of the French commerce to Beyrut and Tripolis,[3] while Sidon was given a setback from which it has never recovered. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the commerce of Sidon had been reduced to almost nothing. De Marcellus wrote in 1816,[4] that for several years the commerce of the city had been practically dead, and that the last French consul, during a stay of seven years, had seen only one French vessel enter the harbor, and it had been driven there by a storm. During the nineteenth century the city has revived somewhat, but it will never again become the leader of commerce on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 165.

[2] Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire d'Othoman, l'Egypte, et la Perse*, II, p. 231. Verney et Dambmann, *Les puissances étrangères dans le Levant*, p. 364; *P. E. F.*, 1906, p. 138, quoted from Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798.*

[3] Michaud et Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient*, V, p. 516ff.

[4] *Souvenirs de l'Orient*, p. 228.

The condition of its harbor and the nearness of Beyrut, which draws everything to itself, prevents its rapid growth. In 1837 Sidon suffered severely from an earthquake, in which about 100 buildings were damaged.[1] Three years later the harbor fortress was attacked and the city captured by the combined fleet of the European powers who sought to drive Mehemet Ali from Syria.[2] Travelers who visited the city during the first half of the century estimated the population variously from 5,000 to 10,000. In 1858 it was said to be about 9,000. Of these 6,800 were Moslems, 850 Greek Catholics, 750 Maronites, 150 United Greeks, and 300 Jews.[3] Nearly all the travelers call attention to the wretched condition of the place and its people; only rarely one allows his imagination to soar and to paint a more hopeful picture. "The whole appearance of Sidon," says al-Mukattem (H. Crosby), "formed an epoch in our journey. We suddenly lost sight of the lazy, dilapidated Orient in the life and bustle of a large and busy town as is Sidon, and saw in its inhabitants a tone of rank and intelligence that we had not witnessed since leaving Cairo."[4] During the persecutions of the Christians by the Moslems and of the Maronites by the Druses in 1860,[5] the Christians in Sidon were subjected to severe suffering.

In 1902, M. Angel, who was commissioned by the *Alliance Israélite* to study the situation in Sidon with a view of establishing a Jewish school there, presented a picture of the city's desolation in these words : " I have visited the most ancient quarters of Jerusalem and Damascus, but there I have never seen a semblance of the aspect of desolation and decay which Sidon presents, a little village, almost ignored by tourists, to which modern civilization has not yet penetrated."[6] There

[1] Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVII, 1, p. 406.

[2] Menzies, *Turkey Old and New*, p. 387. A. A. Paton, *A History of the Egyptian Revolution*, II, pp. 189, 190.

[3] Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, two vol. edition, I, p. 154.

[4] *The Lands of the Moslem*, p. 332.

[5] Von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, pp. 162, 163.

[6] *Bulletin de l'alliance Israélite*, 1902, p. 92.

must be some exaggeration in this statement, for since the middle of the nineteenth century the city has shared to some extent in the advances and advantages of modern civilization, and at the present time it contains nearly all the institutions which are thought essential in a modern town. Its population is estimated at about 11,000. It is the seat of a Turkish tribunal, has a custom house, a post office, and a telegraph office for domestic service, *i.e.*, for correspondence in Arabic and Turkish. It is the residence of a *Kaimaḳâm*, of a Maronite and two Greek bishops.[1] It possesses Moslem secondary and primary schools for boys and girls; the American Mission—Presbyterian—maintains a boys and a girls' school, also a school of agriculture; the Franciscans have a monastery, church, and boys' school; the Sisters of Joseph a school and an orphanage; the Jesuits have a mission station, with a church and a school. The Maronites, the United Greeks, and Orthodox Greeks also maintain schools and churches.[2] The *Alliance Israélite* established a mixed school in 1902.[3]

[1] Bädeker says that both belong to the Orthodox Greek Church. This is an error; one belongs to the United Greek Church; so Cuinet.

[2] Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban, et Palestine*, p. 71; Bädeker-Benzinger, *Palestine and Syria*, 1898, p. 314. Verney et Dambmann, *Les puissances étrangères dans le Levant*, pp. 28, 29, 477.

[3] *Bulletin de l'alliance Israélite*, 1902, p. 91ff.

III. COLONIES, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES

Six hundred and sixty pages does Movers devote to a discussion of the Phœnician colonies;[1] and that notwithstanding his admission[2] that in cases without number we know very little, while "concerning others, and among them the most important, nothing whatever may be said." On the other hand, twelve pages are sufficient for Winckler to prove that the older views concerning the founding of Phœnician colonies are no longer tenable.[3] He holds, and without doubt correctly, that the so-called Phœnician colonies on the islands and shores of the Mediterranean are due, not to the commercial ventures of the cities in Phœnicia proper, but to the continuation across the Mediterranean Sea of the same Semitic migration which resulted in the settlement of the Phœnicians along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean.

The subject of this chapter, however, is not Phœnician colonies but Sidonian colonies. In entering upon the discussion of this subject it may be well to repeat what has been stated in another connection, that Sidon was not a city of prominence until after the opening of the first millennium B.C., a fact which tends to cast suspicion upon any statement which implies that centuries earlier Sidon was busy planting colonies on distant shores. The mythological stories which connect Europa and Cadmus with Sidon may be left entirely out of consideration, for they reflect late notions which in no sense can be called historical.[4] The

[1] *Die Phönizier*, II, 2. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[3] *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, pp. 421–433; cp. *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, VI, pp. 357ff., 434ff.; see also v. Landau, *Der Alte Orient*, II, 4, p. 8.

[4] The origin of these notions may be explained, in part, by the fact that the people among whom they originated were more familiar with the citizens of

earliest historical allusion to a Sidonian colony is generally seen in Judg. 18 : 7, 28; but there Sidonian is certainly equivalent to Phœnician, and the most that may be inferred from the passage is that Laish was a Phœnician settlement; it does not follow that the city Sidon had even the remotest connection with it. Another proof of the early colonizing activities of Sidon is found in the claims expressed on Sidonian coins of the second century B.C.[1] that Sidon is the mother of Kambe, = Carthage, Hippo, Citium, Tyre. In the case of Tyre the claim has been shown to be unwarranted,[2] and the same may be said in the case of the other cities; for how could a city such as Sidon was during the Tel-el-Amarna period plant, at approximately the same time, or even earlier, extensive settlements on foreign and hostile shores? If any colonizing was done during the period reflected in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets or earlier, it cannot have proceeded from the Phœnician cities named in that correspondence. On this ground alone the assertion is warranted that the claims of Sidon to be the founder of the cities named is without any basis in history; it reflects rather the later rivalry between Tyre and Sidon, which found expression in extravagant claims of antiquity and superiority.

There are only two colonies the founding of which is credited by disinterested persons to Sidon. Leptis, in North Africa, is said to have been settled by Sidonians who had been driven from their homes by internal dissensions;[3] and the island Oliaros, near Paros, is called by Heraclides Ponticus Σιδωνίων ἀποικία.[4] Pliny calls the former a Tyrian settlement,[5] while modern his-

Sidon than with those of other Phœnician cities, in part by the wider use of the term Sidonian = Phœnician; see above, p. 18. It should be noted also that other traditions connect these mythological figures with Tyre; see above, p. 20.

[1] Gesenius, *Monumenta*, p. 264ff.

[2] See above, p. 21ff. In the case of Carthage the fact must not be overlooked that ancient tradition in general makes Tyre the mother; see Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager*, I, p. 124. *J. A. O. S.*, 1890, p. LXXff.

[3] Sallust, *Jug.*, 78.

[4] Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnicorum quæ supersunt*, s.v. Ὠλίαρος.

[5] *Historia naturalis*, V, 17.

torians are inclined to believe that it was founded by Carthage.[1] In the case of the latter Σιδώνιος may be used in the wider sense, or we may perhaps assume that a Sidonian settlement of the character described below existed there. Even these references, therefore, do not prove that Sidon founded colonies in the commonly accepted sense of that term.

To explain the historical development of the so-called Phœnician colonies, it is necessary to place their origin in a period much earlier than that in which the Phœnician coast cities first came into prominence. The traditions which connect them with these cities arose at a time when, as is true in other cases, the actual course of events was no longer known. However, the process of reasoning which is responsible for the traditions can still be traced. Here were certain Semitic settlements away from the mainland, or in regions distant from the better-known Semitic nations: what could be more natural than to look upon them as colonies of the latter? Their language, customs, and religion resembled the language, customs, and religion of the Phœnicians; hence they must be colonies of the Phœnicians. The relative prominence of the Phœnician cities at the time of the origin of the traditions would determine which of the cities was to be regarded as the "mother." Traditions arising during the supremacy of Sidon would connect the colonies with it, while at another period the same colonies might be connected with Tyre, and in periods of intense rivalry each city would try to overcome the claims of the other by adding new colonies to its own list. Tradition credits Tyre, which was the most prominent Phœnician city during the greater part of Phœnician history, with the largest number of colonies.

The beliefs concerning the founding of these colonies would be fostered by another fact. The Phœnicians were from the earliest times a seafaring nation, the mediators between the Orient and the Occident. Being such, it would be to their interest to establish commercial relations with the people

[1] See E. Meyer, in *Ency. Bibl.*, art. *Phœnicia.*

living upon the islands and shores to the west. It was quite natural that their fellow-Semites, who had settled there at approximately the time when the Phœnicians established themselves on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, and who for some generations at least must have remembered the intimate racial connection existing between them, would grant to them certain privileges which might prove of mutual advantage; for example, they might permit them to erect warehouses, or factories, or even to plant small settlements of merchants who could trade with the more remote districts in the interior. We may assume even that similar privileges were granted by non-Semitic communities. In a certain sense these settlements might be called colonies, but not in the sense in which it is common to speak of Phœnician colonies, and yet only in this limited sense are we warranted to speak of colonies founded by the cities of Phœnicia. These statements do not mean to deny that there may have been occasions when individuals, or families, or groups of families found it desirable, for economic or political reasons, to leave their homes; in such cases they would quite naturally turn westward to find new homes among their kinsmen there. Migrations of this character may also have been responsible for the presence of Sidonian or Tyrian "colonies" in the midst of the older Semitic settlements. These three facts —the close racial connection between the Phœnicians and the inhabitants of the islands and shores west of them, the establishment by the Phœnicians of small commercial settlements in the midst of the older "colonies," and migrations on a small scale from the Phœnician cities—are the historical basis of the traditions concerning the colonial activities of the ancient Phœnicians.

This conclusion finds further support in the history of these "colonies." In the first place, though traces of early Semitic influence may be seen in many places, it was not able to maintain and assert itself permanently in the presence of stronger native elements; hence it soon died out. There are, indeed, only a few places—for example, Carthage, Cyprus, Spain

—in which the invaders succeeded in establishing permanent Semitic communities.[1] Again, the presence of commercial establishments explains most readily the maintenance of constant communication between these colonies and the more prominent commercial centres of Phœnicia. Moreover, so far as we can judge, the influence of the Phœnician cities in the affairs of these distant settlements was insignificant; it was chiefly commercial; which is quite natural, if the situation was as described above. The exact share of the city of Sidon in these "colonizing" enterprises it is difficult to determine. It undoubtedly varied according to the fortunes of the city at home. In times of prosperity and success her commercial activities abroad would be considerable; in periods of decline and misfortune her commerce would be pushed into the background. Undoubtedly in this, as in other respects, Tyre played the more prominent rôle.

While it may be necessary to reject as exaggerated many of the traditions concerning the early colonial activities of the Phœnician cities, there is no good reason for questioning the traditions concerning the commercial prominence of Sidon and her sister cities. The Phœnicians were destined by nature to become a seafaring nation.[2] On the one hand, there was little opportunity for agriculture or sheep raising in the narrow strip of land along the coast; on the other hand, the Phœnician territory possessed excellent harbor facilities, while the coast farther south had but one harbor, that of Joppa. This in itself makes it more than probable that even the pre-Phœnician inhabitants of the land knew and practiced navigation and shipbuilding, thus preparing the way for their Semitic successors, who became the commercial mediators between the East and the West.

The famous twenty-seventh chapter of the Book of Ezekiel,

[1] Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, p. 141ff. On the influence of political disorder upon the founding of new Phœnician settlements see also Jastrow, *The Founding of Carthage*, in *J. A. O. S.*, 1890, p. LXXff.

[2] Pomponius Mela, I, 12.

which deals with Tyre, reveals the wide extent of Phœnician commerce during the first half of the sixth century B.C. Among the nations mentioned there as carrying on an active trade with the Phœnician city are Northern Syria, Syria of Damascus, Judah, Israel, Egypt, Arabia, Babylonia, Assyria, Upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, Asia Minor, Ionia, Greece, Cyprus, Tarshish.[1] Ezekiel furnishes also a very complete idea of the articles of commerce. From Northern Syria came cotton, embroidery, and precious stones; from Syria of Damascus, the wine of Helbon[2] and white wool; from Israel and Judah, *pannagh*,[3] corn, honey, balm, and oil; from Egypt, fine linen; from Arabia, spices, cassia, calamus, lambs, rams, goats, cloths for chariots, gold, wrought iron, precious stones, ivory, and ebony. Babylonia and Assyria furnished choice wares, wrappings of blue and broidered work, and chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and made of cedar. Upper Mesopotamia, represented by Haran, shared in this traffic. Armenia sent horses, chargers, and mules; Asia Minor and Ionia, persons of men and vessels of brass; Cyprus, benches of ivory inlaid with boxwood. From Greece came "blue and purple," probably shell fish, which were used in the manufacture of purple. Tarshish supplied silver, iron, tin, and lead. Another fact made plain by Ezekiel is that the land trade was more extensive than the trade requiring navigation. With the exception of the last four districts named by him, all could be reached from Tyre by land, most of them only by land. At times Egypt and the south coast of Asia Minor may have been touched by vessels, but even with these countries the greater part of the trade was carried on over land routes.

When these words of Ezekiel were uttered Tyre was the leading city of Phœnicia. Sidon had not yet fully recovered from the awful blow struck by Esarhaddon; and yet there can be no

[1] The prophet is probably thinking of Spain. Various other identifications have been suggested. See *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. *Tarshish.*

[2] A delicious drink; Strabo, *Geographica,* XV, 3, 22.

[3] A word of uncertain meaning; the text may be corrupt; Cornill emends דּוֹנַג, meaning *wax.*

doubt that it had a large share in the commerce described here and in the resulting prosperity. That much is implied in the prophet's statement that the Sidonians were the mariners of Tyre,[1] which must mean that they assisted the Tyrians in carrying out their commercial enterprises.

The Homeric poems describe the commercial relations between Greece and Phœnicia as they were supposed to have been in the days of the Trojan wars, and they picture the Sidonian ships as crossing the Mediterranean in every direction. "There lay the beautiful embroidered robes, the work of the hands of the Sidonian women, brought far over the waters wide, even from Sidon."[2] And again, "Then set Peleides forth a mazer of silver mould, the prize for swiftness of foot; six measures the same would hold; and for beauty there was not the like thereof in any land, for it was fashioned by skillful Sidonian workmen, and Phœnician shipmen had brought it over the misty wave."[3] Once more, "There came some famous Phœnician shipmen, knaves who brought in their ship multitudes of trinkets."[4]

On account of the wider use of the term Sidonian by Homer,[5] it is difficult to determine from these passages the exact share which Sidon had in these enterprises. The same difficulty is encountered in Herodotus' statements concerning the early period of Phœnician history, and even in some which deal with the later days. When he says, for example, that on settling the shores of the Mediterranean Sea the Phœnicians began to occupy themselves with distant sea voyages,[6] it is not easy to decide which city of Phœnicia took the lead. But if Sidon was the first city occupied by the Phœnicians, it is not improbable that the first vessels departed from its harbor, though its lead may not have continued for any length of time. However, even if

[1] Verse 8. The prominence of Sidon in the affairs of Phœnicia is implied also in other prophecies of this period; see above, p. 56ff.

[2] *Il.*, VI, 289–291.

[3] *Il.*, XXIII, 740–744.

[4] *Od.*, XV, 414, 415. Some passages imply that the Phœnicians were not always scrupulous in their dealings; *e.g.*, *Od.*, III, 71; IX, 250ff.; XIV, 285ff.

[5] See above, p. 19.

[6] *Historia*, I, 1.

Sidon did not stand in the front rank of commercial activity during the early centuries of Phœnician history, its excellent harbor facilities made it inevitable that it should have a large share in the commercial undertakings of the ancient East.

The city is first mentioned as an independent seafaring power in connection with the Persian period. Diodorus calls attention to the wealth of its citizens, accumulated through commerce.[1] That Sidon was a well-known starting point for ships and a place where shipbuilding was carried on is implied in Herodotus, III, 136.[2] That greater prominence is given to the feats of the Sidonian vessels in war[3] is due not to less activity in commerce and other peaceful enterprises, but rather to the fact that the ancient historians took a keener interest in war than in the arts of peace. The Phœnicians who are said to have sailed around Africa[4] may have been Sidonians. To the closing period of the Persian supremacy belongs Joel 4 : 6, which accuses Sidon and Tyre of selling Jews to the Greeks. From a later period comes Zech. 9 : 2, which implies that Sidon was still prominent commercially. The exact date of Is. 23 : 2 cannot be determined, but it is certainly not earlier than the late Persian period,[5] and perhaps much later. Whatever the exact date, its testimony is valuable as a witness to the commercial prominence of Sidon: "Behold, ye inhabitants of the isle, thou whom the merchants of Sidon, who pass over the sea, have replenished." A new impetus was given to the commerce of the Phœnician cities by the extension of the Persian empire to India, which added the products of India to their commerce. On the other hand, the friendly feeling which existed between Sidon and the Athenians made Sidon a favorite trading centre.

Little is known of the commerce of Sidon during the rule of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, but during the early Roman period a lively trade was carried on with Joppa,[6] which must have extended also to other cities. In the absence of all testi-

[1] *Bibliotheca historica*, XVI, 41.
[2] See above, p. 62.
[3] See above, p. 61ff.
[4] Herodotus, IV, 42.
[5] See above, p. 66.
[6] Josephus, *Ant.*, XIV, 10, 6.

mony[1] we may assume that during the first millennium of the Christian era Sidonian commerce continued to prosper, though other coast cities may have surpassed it; as long as the harbor remained open and unobstructed trading vessels would find it a convenient landing place. In the eleventh century it was a flourishing commercial centre.[2] In the following century Idrîsî speaks of its thronged market places.[3] From the fourteenth century comes the testimony of Ibn-Baṭûṭa, who mentions figs, raisins, and olive oil as articles of export.[4] That the city possessed much wealth during the period of the Crusades is evident from the fact that the inhabitants were quite ready to purchase their freedom[5] or assistance[6] for large sums of money; and this wealth presupposes commerce, which was the only means by which the coast cities could acquire wealth. The vicissitudes of the period of the Crusades affected seriously the commercial standing of the city, and after the expulsion of the Christians it regained its influence by very slow stages. In the seventeenth century Fakhr-addîn sought to restore its former splendor, and to make it the mediator *par excellence* between the Orient and the Occident. The resources of Sidon itself were increased by the planting of numerous mulberry groves, which resulted in the city becoming in a very little while the centre of the silk industry in the East, from which great quantities were exported to Marseilles. Unfortunately the commercial prospects of Sidon were permanently impaired by the partial filling up of its harbor.[7] Notwithstanding this act of folly the commerce, which was almost exclusively in the hands of Frenchmen, continued to prosper for many years. Not even the fall of Fakhr-addîn in 1634 had a serious effect upon it, for in the latter part of the century d'Arvieux wrote[8] that in his day the French trade had

[1] The pilgrims were not interested in commerce, hence they are silent concerning it.

[2] See quotation from Nâṣir-i-Khusrau, on p. 81.

[3] See above, p. 103.

[4] *Tuḥfat an-nuẓẓar*, I, 132.

[5] See above, p. 83.

[6] See above, p. 84.

[7] This was intended to prevent the approach of the hostile Turkish fleet.

[8] *Mémoires*, I, p 311.

grown to such dimensions that it brought annually into the coffers of the government 200,000 crowns, and that it had become so essential to the inhabitants that, if the French should remove it to another place, the city would be immediately abandoned and deserted. From Sidon, the residence of the French consul, as the centre branches were established in the other coast cities, and from it a caravan road led directly to Damascus and the interior. The French consuls and merchants were diplomatic enough to keep on good terms with the emirs and pashas who succeeded Fakhr-addîn, and thus succeeded in extending their commerce more and more. The chief articles of export were raw and spun cotton, silk, rice, nutgalls, ashes from the desert, bird lime, senna, and several other drugs. At first these goods were paid for in money, but in the course of time the French began to import various articles in exchange, among them cloths, spices, dye stuffs, and jewelry.[1] Though in time more and more of the trade was transferred to Beyrut, Sidon continued to occupy a prominent position commercially until toward the close of the eighteenth century. In 1737, when Pococke visited the place, all the merchants resided in the great Khan erected by Fakhr-addîn; the principal articles of export were raw silk, cotton, and grain.[2] Hasselquist relates[3] that in his day, 1751, more than twenty ships were sent annually to France, laden chiefly with spun cotton and raw silk, but carrying also the silken and half silken stuffs from Damascus, and nutgalls, oil, and ashes. The imports were cloth, spices, Spanish iron, and dye stuffs. In 1766 Niebuhr found fourteen French merchants, all of whom lived in the Khan,[4] and Mariti[5] speaks in the following year of seven or eight great French commercial houses. In 1784 Volney found the commerce still chiefly in the hands of the French, who had a consul and six commercial houses in the city; raw and spun cotton and silk were the chief

[1] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, I, 334ff.; 463ff.

[2] *Description of the East*, II, 1, p. 87.

[3] *Voyages and Travels*, p. 166.

[4] *Reisebeschreibung*, III, p. 79.

[5] I, p. 122, mentioned by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVII, 1, p. 404.

commodities.[1] Sidonian commerce received its deathblow when in 1791 the French merchants were driven from the city and the neighboring districts.[2] Since then the little trade has been carried on chiefly by the natives. The European commerce has turned almost entirely to Beyrut; only since 1894 have English steamers made the city again a regular stopping place.[3] In 1850 Neale wrote concerning Sidon: "It can in no respect be called a commercial town, its import trade being barely sufficient to meet the wants of the inhabitants and its exports wholly insignificant."[4] And a few years later Thomson also calls attention to the commercial decline; the only articles of export he names are tobacco, oil, fruit, and silk.[5] At the present time the chief articles of commerce are silk, cotton, figs, oranges, lemons, and grain.[6] But these exchange hands in such small quantities that it is almost impossible to speak of Sidon as a trading centre. "The ancient Phœnician cities of Tyre and Sidon," says Schulz, "are to-day dead cities . . . . Sidon has lost its commercial standing, its harbor is filled with sand, and only ruins remind one of the former splendor of the city."[7] This statement of Schulz is perhaps too sweeping, as may be seen from the statistics supplied by Verney and Dambmann,[8] though even these make it clear that the city does not enjoy at present its former prominence.

[1] *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, II, p. 192.

[2] See above, p. 107.

[3] Verney et Dambmann, *Les puissances étrangères dans le Levant*, p. 516.

[4] *Eight Years in Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor*, 1842–1850, I, p. 205.

[5] *The Land and the Book*, I, p. 154.

[6] Ritter, *Geogr.-Statist. Lexicon*, Vol. II, art. *Saida*. Bädeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 1906, p. 271.

[7] *Syriens Rolle im Welthandel*, 1900, p. 72. Cp. also *Bulletin de l'alliance Israélite*, 1902, p. 91.

[8] Verney and Dambmann, *Les puissances étrangères dans le Levant*, pp. 365, 366. The commerce will undoubtedly increase when the railroads now under construction or planned are completed (*ibid.*, p. 396), for these will facilitate intercourse with Beyrut, Damascus and other cities. That Sidon is still considered of commercial importance is shown by the fact that many nations have consuls or consular agents in the city; *ibid.*, *passim*.

I. Vessels entering the harbor of Sidon during the years 1892 to 1897.

Year.	Sailing Vessels.		Steamers.	
	Numbers.	Tonnage.	Numbers.	Tonnage.
1892	679		85	
1893	856	9,633	35	34,354
1894	937	12,209	211	38,546
1895	765	10,476	251	34,287
1896	920	10,002	231	29,759
1897	781	7,831	218	38,253

II. Exports and imports during 1891–1897.

Year.	Exports.	Imports.
1891	1,555,000 francs.	
1892	1,600,000 "	
1893	1,280,000 "	
1894		
1895	1,300,000 "	700,000 francs.
1896	1,250,000 "	795,000 "
1897	1,206,000 "	828,000 "

A few words may be added concerning the industries of Sidon. Popular etymology gave to the name of the city the meaning "fish-town," because its inhabitants were known to be fishermen, and fishing has continued to be an important occupation of Sidonians to the present day.[1] But among the ancients Phœnicia was noted especially for three industries: 1. The manufacture of textile fabrics. The materials used were wool, linen, cotton, and in later times silk. The skill of the Phœnicians along these lines is highly praised by Homer.[2] 2. The manufacture of dyes, especially purple.[3] In this industry Tyre excelled

[1] Neale, *Eight Years in Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor*, I, p. 205.

[2] *Il.*, VI, 289. *Od.*, XV, 417. [3] Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia*, p. 245ff.

all other cities of Phœnicia, but there can be no doubt that Sidon also had numerous establishments for the manufacture of dyes. The shell-fish needed for this purpose were very numerous along the coast near the city, and in a heap of rubbish in the southeastern part of the city, on which stand the ruins of a medieval castle, layers of purple shells are still visible. 3. The manufacture of glass. Pliny credits the neighborhood of Sidon with being the locality where glass was invented.[1] In this he must be mistaken, for glass was manufactured in Egypt long before there is the slightest trace of it in Phœnicia; nevertheless there is no reason for questioning the accuracy of ancient tradition in so far as it implies that the Phœnicians manufactured glass on a large scale, or that Sidon was an important seat of the industry.[2] At Sarepta, which is not far from Sidon, have been discovered extensive banks of *débris,* consisting of small pieces of glass of various colors, and it has been suggested that they represent the waste of an ancient glass factory.[3] The Phœnicians are said to have attained high perfection also in the use of metals for artistic purposes;[4] and they had the reputation of being experts in the architectural arts.[5] Many specimens of the æsthetic arts have been uncovered in various parts of Phœnicia and in the colonies.[6] All this information is concerning the Phœnicians in general, and though at times the Sidonians are mentioned by name, one must be careful in drawing conclusions, because in every case of this kind Sidonian seems to be equivalent to Phœnician. Almost the only artistic remains of antiquity which have been found in Sidon are those found in the tombs and in the ruins of the Ešmun temple, and they are not numerous enough to enable us to draw a clear picture of the art of Sidon.

[1] *Hist. nat.,* XXXVI, 65.
[2] *Ibid.,* V, 17. See further Appendix III; below, p. 166f.
[3] Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui,* p. 113.
[4] *Il.,* XXIII, 740ff.
[5] 1 K. 5 : 6; chapter 7; 2 Chr. 2 : 12.
[6] Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art,* Vol. III; cp. Rawlinson, *History,* p. 180ff.

The industrial history of Sidon cannot be traced during the early centuries of the Christian era. In the eleventh century A.D. Nâṣir-i-Khusrau mentions the cultivation of sugar cane, the beauty and excellence ot the gardens and orchards, and the wealth of the fruit trees.[1] Idrîsî[2] in the twelfth and Ibn-Baṭûṭa in the fourteenth century also call attention to the cultivation of fruit trees.[3] In the thirteenth century Jacques de Vitry writes: "It has fruit trees and vineyards, woods and fields, both pasture and plow land, whereby its citizens are greatly benefited."[4] In the fifteenth century John Poloner speaks of the cultivation of sugar cane and vineyards, "exceedingly good ones."[5] A new industry, which has continued to the present day, was introduced by Fakhr-addîn when he covered the plains around Sidon with mulberry groves. Though these groves were neglected by his successors, they continued to furnish employment for many people. Volney calls the manufacture of cotton the principal industry in his day.[6] Stanley was impressed with the numerous silk mills.[7] The decline of commerce was accompanied by a decline of the industries of the town; and to-day fishing, the manufacture of cotton and silk on a small scale, and the raising of a little fruit and grain are the mainstay of the population.[8]

[1] See above, p. 81.

[2] See above, p. 103.

[3] See above, p. 2.

[4] *P. P. T.*, XI, p. 6; cp. also Burchard of Mount Zion; *P. P. T.*, XII, p. 14.

[5] *P. P. T.*, VI, p. 29.

[6] *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, II, p. 192.

[7] *Sinai and Palestine*, new edition, 1883, p. 341.

[8] "The great mass of the population," says Angel, "lives almost exclusively on the income from the numerous gardens which surround the city, and whose products are exported, in part to Egypt, in part to England, where the oranges of Sidon, it seems, are particularly in demand." *Bulletin de l'alliance Israélite*, 1902, p. 91. Verney and Dambmann, *Les puissances étrangères dans le Levant*, p. 465ff., mention the making of soap, and of oil, dyeing, weaving and tile-making as industries of Sidon.

IV. THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF SIDON

THE purpose of this chapter is to bring together and systematize the material which has bearing upon the religious life and beliefs of the Sidonians, and to trace, with the aid of the information thus secured, the religious history of Sidon from ancient to modern times.

The available material consists, in the first place, of all the inscriptions found in Sidon or other places which give evidences of having been written by Sidonians or under Sidonian influences. The deities named most frequently in the inscriptions of the Sidonian kings are אשמן and עשתרת. Ešmunazar and his mother erected a temple for Ešmun;[1] so did Bod-aštart;[2] the former built also a sanctuary for Aštart,[3] and Bod-aštart erected a שרן (= column?) in honor of the same deity.[4] The divine name אשמן is an element of the name of the king אשמנעזר, עשתרת of the royal name בד עשתרת, and of the name of Ešmunazar's mother אמ עשתרת. The latter is called the priestess of Aštart,[5] while Tabnit and Ešmunazar I are called priests of Aštart.[6] In addition to these two deities the inscription of Ešmunazar names as deities בעל צדן[7] and עשתרת שם בעל.[8]

The divine name צד occurs in one inscription from Sidon.[9] Another inscription[10] names the deity שלמן, and the names in the same inscription contain the divine elements מסכר and בעל. In C. I. S., I, No. 5, is mentioned the deity בעל לבנן. The name of Bod-aštart's son contains the element צדק.[11]

[1] C. I. S., I, No. 3, *l.* 17.
[2] See inscription, below, on p. 144.
[3] C. I. S., I, No. 3, *l.* 16.
[4] C. I. S., I, No. 4, *l.* 4.
[5] C. I. S., I, No. 3, *l.* 15.
[6] Inscription of Tabnit, *ll.* 1, 2.
[7] C. I. S., I, No. 3, *l.* 18.
[8] *Ibid.*, *l.* 18.
[9] See below, p. 165.
[10] V. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orient,* II, p. 13, No. 7.
[11] See below, p. 146.

C. I. S., I, No. 114, implies the worship of 'Απόλλω. The divine name רעם occurs in the names of the Sidonians mentioned in C. I. S., I, No. 115. The Greek text of the same inscription reproduces עבד עשתרת by 'Αφροδισίου, thus establishing the identification of Aštart = Aphrodite. In C. I. S., I, No. 116, appear the elements תנת and שמש; תנת being identified with Ἄρτεμις, שמש with Ἥλιος. The name of the person who erected the monument mentioned in C. I. S., I, No. 119, contains the element בל;[1] the same inscription names the deity נרגל. Διόνυσος is found as an element in the name of a Sidonian in C. I. A., II, No. 448, *l.* 16; Ποσειδῶν in C. I. A., II, No. 966, *l.* 21; אל in the Greek name Θεόδωρος.[2] C. I. S., I, No. 308, gives the name of a Sidonian as עבראס=עבדס = servant of Isis;[3] in a Greek inscription from Sidon[4] occurs the element Βαστ, which is the name of an Egyptian deity. A figure of the Egyptian god Bes has also been found.[5]

The inscriptions, then, whose testimony is admissible here furnish the following divine names or titles:

אשמן	עשתרת	בעל צדן	עשתרת שם בעל
שלמן	מסכר	בעל	בעל לבנן
צדק	בל	נרגל	אל=θεός
אם	רעם	תנת	צד שמש
'Απόλλω	'Αφροδίτη	Ἄρτεμις	Ἥλιος
Διόνυσος	Ποσειδῶν	Βαστ	Bes.

Several of these do not denote any particular deity; they are titles which may be applied to different deities. To this class belongs בעל צדן, which denotes the chief deity of Sidon, in this

[1] Not ביעל.

[2] C. I. A., II, No. 968, *l.* 53.

[3] The same name is found in an inscription mentioned below, on p. 165.

[4] *Journal Asiatique*, 1877, II, p. 162ff.

[5] See below, p. 166. The Carthaginian inscriptions, C. I. S., I, 269–287, 289–293, which contain the names of several persons calling themselves Sidonians, cannot be considered in this connection, for they reveal unmistakably Carthaginian influence.

case perhaps Ešmun;[1] בעל may be applied to any deity which is considered the lord or possessor of a city or district;[2] it is used in that sense in בעל צדן and בעל לבנן; θεός=אל means *god*, and may be used of any deity. All the others are names of deities known also from other sources.[3] Of these seven belong originally to the Greek pantheon,[4] four are Babylonian or Assyrian deities,[5] and three are Egyptian.[6] With the foreign deities eliminated there remain as distinctly Phœnician אשמן, עשתרת, צדק, דעם, תנת. Of these אשמן, a male deity, and עשתרת, a female deity, were the two chief deities of Sidon. צד was taken over from the pre-Phœnician inhabitants of the land.

The worship of Ešmun was not confined to Sidon; traces of it are found wherever the Phœnician civilization went.[7] He first appears as a Phœnician deity in an inscription of Esarhaddon, in which his name has the form *Ia-su-mu-nu*.[8] The material at our command does not enable us to determine the conception of his nature and character which was held by his Phœnician worshipers. Baudissin thinks that originally he was a nature deity,[9] and Barton considers him the counterpart of the Babylonian Duzu or Tammuz.[10] If this identification is correct, as seems very probable, Ešmum was originally the god of the spring vegetation.[11] As such he may have been a favorite deity

[1] Baudissin, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1905, p. 497, thinks that another deity is meant, one superior to Ešmun, but that is not probable. La Grange identifies him with צד; *Études sur les religions Sémitiques*, Paris, 1903, p. 408.

[2] W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, new edition, p. 94ff.

[3] It must not be supposed that these are the only deities worshiped by the Sidonians, but since these are the only deities certified by the inscriptions, we may confine ourselves to them.

[4] Ἀπόλλω, Ἄρτεμις, Ἀφροδίτη, Διόνυσος, Ἥλιος, Ποσειδῶν, מככר.

[5] בל, נרגל, שלמן, שמש.

[6] אס, Βαστ, Bes.

[7] *Z. D. M. G.*, 1905, pp. 466–472.

[8] *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, pp. 12, 13, *l.* 14.

[9] *Z. D. M. G.*, 1905, p. 502.

[10] *J. A. O. S.*, XXI, pp. 188–190.

[11] Jastrow, *Relig. of Babyl. and Assyria*, p. 588; Sayce, *Religions of Anc. Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 350, n.; cp. *Z. D. M. G.*, 1905, p. 503; Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, p. 85; see also references given in note 3 on the same page.

of that portion of the Semitic race which settled in Phœnicia. When these immigrants advanced in influence and power his humble origin was forgotten, and in time he became one of the chief deities of the Phœnician pantheon. Ešmun had at least one temple in Sidon, on the south side of the *Nahr-al-Auwaly*,[1] but nothing has been discovered in the ruins of that temple to determine the nature of the worship practiced there. The form was probably similar to that found among other Semitic nations which had attained to a similar degree of civilization.

While Ešmun was the principal male deity of Sidon, the female Aštart seems to have been considered his superior.[2] Her worship also was found wherever Phœnician influence penetrated.[3] Like Ešmun, she is not of Phœnician origin; indeed, in some form she is worshiped by all Semitic nations.[4] Her prototype is the Babylonian Ištar, or, perhaps better, a deity worshiped by the Semites before the race was broken up into different tribes and nations. Aštart appears among the different Semitic nations under the most divers aspects, but everywhere there is connected with her the idea of generation and productivity. Barton calls her "the Semitic mother goddess."[5] As in the case of Ešmun, so in her case it is impossible to determine the Phœnician conception of her nature and character from the inscriptions or from the contemporaneous records preserved in the Old Testament; but, she being one of the principal deities, it is quite likely that her influence was thought to extend over all spheres of human life and activity. The inscription of Tabnit[6] shows that she was thought to be interested in the welfare of her worshipers even after death, and that the

[1] Cp. above, p. 7f.

[2] An indication of this is the fact that the Sidonian kings call themselves priests of Aštart—Tabn., *ll.* 1, 2; cp. Ešmun., *l.* 15. Bod-aštart also showed first honors to Aštart—C. I. S., I, No. 4, *l.* 5.

[3] Barton, *The Semitic Ištar Cult*, in *Hebraica*, X, p. 202; see also Zimmern, in *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, dritte Auflage, p. 420ff., La Grange, *Études*, p. 119ff., Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, I, p. 214ff.

[4] *Hebraica*, X, pp. 12, 14, 68.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 71; cp. *Z. D. M. G.*, 1905, p. 503.

[6] *l.* 6.

desecration of their tombs was an abomination to her. Ešmunazar and his mother erected for her a temple, which may have been still in use when Lucian visited the city.[1] He ventures the opinion that Aštart was a moon-goddess, but there is no evidence that she was looked upon as such at an earlier time.[2] Nor is there any evidence in the Phœnician inscriptions that her worship was accompanied by licentious practices.[3] Though information concerning the character of her worship is lacking, we may assume that the kings who called themselves her priests spared no effort or expense to make it impressive and beautiful. In the Babylonian religion Tammuz appears as the spouse of Ištar;[4] a similar close connection exists in Sidon between Aštart and Ešmun.

The relation of עשתרת שם בעל to עשתרת is obscure. The uncertainty extends even to the reading and translation of the name. Some translate "Aštart, the name (= expression) of Baal"; others, with less probability, "Aštart of the heavens of Baal," *i.e.*, Aštart, the consort of בעל שמם. Whatever the exact force of the combination, it undoubtedly denotes a distinct deity, who was thought to be in some sense a reflection of a Baal.[5] It is not improbable, however, that the expression points to a time when Aštart was worshiped as an androgynous deity.[6]

צדק appears as the name of a deity in the name of the son of king Bod-Aštart. A statement of Yâkût also points to the

[1] *De Syria dea*, § 4.

[2] Cp. La Grange, *Études*, p. 128.

[3] But see below under Ἀφροδίτη.

[4] Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 350.

[5] Cp. Ex. 23 : 21; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 267, 268.

[6] The discussion of the androgynous character of Aštart or Ištar is outside the scope of this chapter. It may be sufficient to say that evidence is accumulating continually to show that there was a time when masculine and feminine qualities were attached to her. Barton, *J. A. O. S.*, XXI, p. 185ff.; *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, especially chapters III–VI; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annak*, p. 105ff.; W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, new ed., p. 58. Compare also the Talmudic tradition concerning דו פרצופין, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XLIX, p. 682.

presence of a deity bearing that name in the pantheon of Sidon. He says, "Ṣaida is called after Ṣaidun, son of *Ṣadaḳa*, son of Canaan, son of Noah."[1] The same deity is represented by the mythological figure Συδυκ, mentioned by Philo Byblius.[2] A deity bearing the same name occurs in the Old Testament names אדניצדק,[3] מלכיצדק,[4] and many more. The descendants of Συδυκ are said by Philo to have been known as the inventors of medicine and music. Outside of the name nothing is known of this deity.[5] The same is true of רעם, though the name is found several times and occurs also transliterated in Greek inscriptions.

תנת occurs in C. I. S., I, No. 116, in the name of a Sidonian living in Athens. Nevertheless it is doubtful that the worship of Tanith was practiced to any extent in Sidon. So far as we know, it was confined to Carthage and its colonies. עבדתנת was in his religion probably more of a Carthaginian than a Sidonian.[6]

From the Phœnician deities, of whom, excepting Aštart and Ešmun, little is known, we may pass to the deities imported from Babylonia or Assyria. Šalman was one of the minor deities in the Assyrian pantheon.[7] Of Šamaš, the sun-god, Jastrow says: "There is no deity whose worship enjoys an equally continued popularity in Babylonia and Assyria. Beginning at the earliest period of Babylonian history and reaching to the latest, his worship suffers no interruption."[8] Bel, the Semitic successor of the pre-Semitic *En-lil*, god of Nippur, was for many centuries the chief deity in Babylonia, until he yielded his supremacy to Marduk, the god of Babylon.[9]

[1] *Mu'jam al-buldân*, III, p. 439; cp. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'arch. or.*, V, p. 207ff. [2] *Phœnicum historia*, II, 11. [3] Josh. 10 : 1.

[4] Gen. 14 : 18; Ps. 110 : 4. It is found also in South Arabia; La Grange, *Études*, p. 377. [5] Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 128. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[7] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 188.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[9] Sayce, *Religions*, pp. 301, 302. For the Assyrian deities cp. also *K.A.T.*[3], pp. 437f., 367ff., 354ff., 412ff., and the German edition of Prof. Jastrow's work, vol. I, pp. 220ff., 229, 52ff.

Nergal was originally the god of the city Cuthah; he is better known, however, as the god of the nether regions, and of some of the evils that bring death, for example, pestilence and war.[1] Assyrian deities were introduced into Sidon by the Assyrians and Babylonians whom Esarhaddon transplanted thither after the destruction of the island Sidon and the founding of a new city.[2] The new colonists brought with them their own gods,[3] and as they intermarried with the native population some of their deities were adopted into the Sidonian pantheon.

Phœnicia was under the sway of Egyptian rulers at three different periods: before the Tel-el-Amarna period,[4] under Necho[5] and under the Ptolemies.[6] Commercial intercourse between the two countries existed also at other times. As a result of this close connection, and perhaps also through the migration of Egyptian families to Phœnicia, Egyptian deities were introduced into Sidon and other Phœnician settlements. The Sidonian inscriptions bear witness to the adoration of Isis and Bast, and the statue of the Egyptian god Bes has been found in the city. Other Egyptian deities are mentioned in C. I. S., I, Nos. 9, 50, 111b.

All these deities, with the possible exception of Isis, Bast, and Bes were worshiped in Sidon before it came under the influence of Greece; and we may assume, in the absence of all information concerning the religious practices of the early periods, that the deities who are essentially Phœnician were worshiped from the time of the Phœnician immigration.[7] Neither the mythological stories of Sanchuniathon, preserved by Philo Byblius,[8] nor the Sidonian cosmologies, preserved by Damascius,[9] are of much help here, because both writers are influenced by the mythological and philosophical notions of a later time.[10] However, if

[1] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 66.
[2] See above, p. 53.
[3] Cp. 2 K. 17 : 35.
[4] See above, p. 33ff.
[5] See above, p. 58.
[6] See above, p. 71ff.
[7] See above, p. 29.
[8] The existence of Σύδυκ = צדק may be established from II, 11.
[9] See below, p. 132.
[10] See Gruppe, *Die Griechischen Kulte und Mythen*, p. 385ff.

the etymology of the name צירן suggested in another connection[1] is correct, one other deity must have belonged at one time to the pantheon of Sidon, namely, the non-Semitic צר, who was adopted by the Semitic immigrants from the non-Semitic settlers of the country. The name of this deity is found in only one Sidonian inscription, but it occurs in several Phœnician inscriptions from other places.[2] Nothing is known of him except the name, which came to be connected with the root ציר, "to hunt"; and it is not improbable that Philo has him in mind when he speaks of Ἀγρεύς, the first hunter, and Ἁλίευς, the first fisherman.[3]

The excavations have shed little light upon the interior of Sidonian temples or the form of worship practiced there. What we do know makes it probable that in all essentials the worship of the Phœnicians resembled that of other Semitic nations which had attained to a similar degree of civilization. Like the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, the Sidonian rulers gave expression to their devotion by the building or rebuilding of temples.[4] It was customary to present votive offerings,[5] to erect memorial columns,[6] and to offer first-fruits.[7] The king,[8] and sometimes even the queen,[9] occupied the office of *pontifex maximus*.

The notions concerning a future life remained undeveloped to the last. There was no expectation of a life beyond Sheol,[10] and all

[1] See above, p. 13f.

[2] See below, p. 165; C. I. S., I, Nos. 102*a*; 247–249. A probable reason for the early disappearance of צר is suggested on p. 14; see further above, p. 13f.

[3] *Phœnicum historia*, II, 9. Cp. La Grange, *Études*, p. 374.

[4] So Ešmunazar II and Bod-aštart. [5] C. I. S., I, No. 5. [6] C. I. S., I, No. 4.

[7] C. I. S., I, No. 5. [8] Tabnit and Ešmunazar I; see inscr. of Tabn., *ll.* 1, 2.

[9] Em-Aštart; C. I. S., I, No. 3, *l.* 15.

[10] *Ib.*, *l.* 8, mentions רפאם, which shows that the departed were thought to have only a weak, shadowy existence; cp. Is. 14: 9ff. Halévy ascribes to the Sidonian kings a well-developed spiritual conception of immortality (*Mélanges d'épigraphie et d'archéologie sémitiques*, p. 146ff., *Congrès internat. des orient.*, 1873, II, p. 254ff.), but this view is based upon a mistranslation and misinterpretation of C. I. S., I, No. 3, *ll.* 3. 16. 17. When translated properly, the inscriptions give no support to Halévy's view.

one could wish for was a peaceful existence there. It was thought that the peace of the departed was disturbed by the desecration of his tomb; therefore the bitterest curses were pronounced upon any one who would dare to commit such a crime.[1] The Sidonians believed also, like the Babylonians,[2] that the lack of a proper burial would interfere with the rest of the dead in Sheol.[3] Since the only immortality known was to live in one's offspring, childlessness was looked upon as the most dreadful curse.[4]

Fragments of two Phœnician cosmologies have been handed down, that of Sanchuniathon, preserved by Philo Byblius, which originated probably in Byblos, and another which comes from Sidon. A translation of the latter is said to have been made by Eudemus, a pupil of Aristotle, and an extract from this translation is preserved by Damascius.[5] "According to this author—*i.e.*, Eudemus—the Sidonians place before all things *Χρόνος*, *Πόθος*,[6] and *Ὀμίχλη*.[7] Of *Πόθος* and *Ὀμίχλη*, mixed as two principles, were born *Ἀήρ* and *Αὔρα*. *Ἀήρ* represents, according to their view, the unmixed essence of the intelligible, but *Αὔρα*, which is set in motion by it, the first living form of the intelligible. Again from the last two was born *ὦτος*,[8] which I think is intelligible reason." Another recension of the Sidonian cosmology is credited to the Sidonian philosopher Mochus; this also is preserved by Damascius: *Αἰθήρ* was first and *Ἀήρ*. These are the two principles of which was born *Οὐλωμός*, the intelligible *θεός*, which I think is the summit of the intelligible. From him, uniting with himself, they say, was begotten *Χουσωρός*, the first opener; then an egg, which, I believe, they call the intelli-

[1] *Ib.*, *ll.* 4–12; 20–22; Tabn., *ll.* 3ff. A similar idea prevailed in Babylonia. Ašurbanapal, for example, boasts that he destroyed the graves of the Elamite kings and dragged their bones to Assyria; and he rejoices that this will leave their shades unprotected. *Rassam Cyl.*, Col. VI *ll.* 70–76; cp. Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies*, in *Der Alte Orient*, I, 3, p. 13f.

[2] Jastrow, *Religion*, p. 512. *K.A.T.*[3], p. 638.

[3] C. I. S., I, No. 3, *l*, 8.

[4] *Ib.*, *ll.* 11, 22.

[5] *De principiis primis*, ed. Kopp, § 125.

[6] Desire.

[7] Mist.

[8] For *ὦτος*, *owl*, should probably be read, as in the recension of Mochus, *ὠός*, *an egg*.

gible reason; while they call the opener *Χουσωρός*, the intelligible power, because he was the first to make a distinction between (hitherto) undistinguishable nature. However after the two principles is the highest *ἄνεμος*, who is one; in the middle come the two winds *λίψ* and *νότος*, which they place even before *Οὐλωμός*. *Οὐλωμός*, then, would be intelligible reason itself, the opener *Χουσωρός*, the first order after the intelligible, and the egg *ὁ οὐρανός*; for it is said that after it was broken in two there were born of it *οὐρανός* and *γῆ*.

There can be no doubt that these cosmologies as preserved by Damascius contain many non-Semitic elements; we find ourselves in the realm of Greek thought and speculation, and it is not easy to discover the Phœnician elements hidden in the account. *Χρόνος*, though a Greek figure, may be compared with the Semitic noun עולם; *πόθος*, *desire*, the principle of action, may be the counterpart of רוח in Gen. i. 2, as *ὁμίχλη* may stand for darkness, which is represented as being in the beginning by many nations of antiquity; unless it be identified with chaos, which appears in the Phœnician cosmology preserved by Philo Byblius. The mixing of the two may be compared with the brooding of the divine spirit upon the waters (Gen. i. 2). The result was the genesis of all life. This seems to be implied in the joining of *Ἀήρ* and *Αὔρα*, in accord with the Semitic custom of expressing totality by the combination of two related nouns, one masculine, the other feminine (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, 122 v.). The interpretation suggested by Damascius here and in other parts of the account probably was not in the Phœnician source. The next object to appear is the world-egg, which is found in the cosmologies of many peoples. The idea may have been suggested by the form of the sky, which might be likened to one-half of an opened egg, while the earth going downward would represent the other half. With this the first recension comes to a close.

The second shows some variations. Here *Αἰθήρ* and *Ἀήρ*, which are probably to be identified with *Ἀήρ* and *Αὔρα* of the first recension, come first. *Οὐλωμός* has been understood, though

perhaps wrongly, as the Greek form of עולם, hence identical with *Χρόνος*, who occupies first place in the other account. Then appears again the world-egg, and *Χουσωρός*, the opener, viz., of the egg. From the two halves of the egg opened by him were formed heaven and earth. In this may be seen a trace of the parting of the body of Tiamat in the Babylonian cosmology, modified, perhaps, under Egyptian influence. *Χουσωρός* reminds one of the Egyptian deity Ptaḥ, whose name may have been connected by the Phœnicians with the root פתח, *to open*. The allusion to the wind, especially the south wind and the southwest wind, is not quite clear. Its peculiar position in the account and the comments added may indicate that it was not a part of the Phœnician cosmology, but was added at a later time.

When, toward the close of the Persian period and after the conquest of Syria by Alexander, a closer relation was established between Phœnicia and Greece, Greek elements began to enter into the religious life and thought of the Sidonians. One result of this is seen in the identification of Phœnician deities with deities belonging to the pantheon of Greece. Aštart was identified with the Greek *Ἀφροδίτη*,[1] who, like Aštart, was the goddess of love and of fertility, both in the animal and in the vegetable kingdom.[2] In Phœnicia the worship of Aphrodite was accompanied by rites of an unchaste character. Lucian, in a paragraph describing a visit to the temple of Aphrodite in Byblos, states that women who did not wish to shave off their hair in commemoration of the death of Adonis, were compelled to pay this penalty: "On a certain day they stand for prostitution at the proper time; the market is open to strangers only, and the pay goes as a sacrifice to Aphrodite."[3] At Aphaka, near Mount Lebanon, stood another temple of Aphrodite,[4] in which

[1] The Greek Aphrodite combined in herself Greek and Oriental elements (Roscher, *Lexicon der Griech. und Röm. Mythologie*, art. *Aphrodite*), which fact would facilitate the identification.

[2] Cp. Philo Byblius, II, 24.

[3] *De Syria dea*, § 6.

[4] Sozomen, *Eccles. Hist.*, II, 5.

repulsive rites were practiced until they were suppressed by Constantine.[1] To what extent similar rites were practiced in Sidon we know not; but there is no reason to suppose that the worship of Aphrodite was purer there than in other places.

Tanith was identified with Ἄρτεμις. Artemis appears sometimes as a nature goddess, causing fruitfulness, sometimes as the ruler and guardian of the animal world, sometimes as the protector of women in childbirth, and as protector of children during the period of growth. Sometimes she appears as goddess of death, and as such she demands human sacrifice.[2] Šamaš, the sungod, was identified with Ἥλιος, who filled the same office in the Greek pantheon. Of the identification of the Sidonian Ešmun with the Greek Ἀσκληπιός, the god of healing, there is abundant evidence. A trilingual inscription[3] from Sardinia begins "Æscolapio Merre—Ἀσκληπιῷ Μηρρη—לארן לאשמן מארה." Damascius writes,[4] ὁ Ἔσμουνος, ὃν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἑρμηνεύουσιν. In the temple of Ešmun in Sidon has been found a votive inscription containing the name Ἀσκληπιωι.[5] The same identification is implied in the reference of Antoninus Martyr to a river Asclepios near Sidon,[6] and of Strabo to an Asclepios grove between Beyrut and Sidon.[7] The picture of Asclepios is found also on a coin from Sidon.[8] Διόνυσος not only appears as an element in Sidonian names, but is represented on many Sidonian coins.[9] From this latter fact Baudissin infers, and perhaps rightly, that Ešmun was identified also with Dionysos; and he thinks that this identifica-

[1] Eusebius, *Vit. Constant.*, III, 55. Though, as has been said, the inscriptions furnish no evidence of the unchaste character of the Aštart worship, the very fact that she was identified with a goddess whose worship was impure may point in that direction, as also the character of the Ištar cult among other Semitic nations.

[2] Roscher, *Lexicon*, art. *Artemis*.

[3] C. I. S., I, No. 143, 1.

[4] *Vit. Isador.*, § 302.

[5] *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1904, p. 316, No. 12.

[6] See above, p. 80.

[7] *Geographica*, XVI, 2, 22.

[8] *Journal internat. d'arch. numism.*, 1902, pp. 269, 270; No. 1538

[9] *Z. D. M. G.*, 1905, pp. 483, 484; cp. Rouvier, in *Journal internat. d'arch. numism.*, 1902, pp. 99ff., 131, 229ff.

tion was earlier and more popular than the identification of Ešmun with Asclepios.[1]

That the popular Ἀπόλλω should be introduced into the Phœnician pantheon is not surprising. C. I. S., I, No. 89, identifies him with a Phœnician god רשף. The name Rešeph is found in the inscriptions of Bod-Aštart, where Halévy explains it as the name of a Sidonian deity.[2] While this explanation is doubtful, the other inscription shows that Rešeph was worshiped by the Phœnicians. Since the root רשה means *to burn*, the deity may have been the god of fire; *rašbu* and *rašubbu*, derived probably from the same root, are epithets of the Assyrian fire-god. The name occurs also in a proper name on an Egyptian monument, and in the city name *Rašpûna*. The identification with Apollo is established also by the city name *Apollonia-Arsûf*.[3] Apollo was, next to Zeus, the most widely worshiped deity in Greece. Why he should be identified with Rešeph is not quite clear ; however, the identification with a fire-god may have been suggested by the fact that from very early times Apollo was connected with the sun. Ποσειδῶν was adopted from the Greek pantheon to supply the Phœnicians with a god of the sea, their own pantheon being without one.[4] Honor was paid in Sidon to the θαλάσσιος Ζεύς,[5] and in the hill country east of Sidon to the Ζεύς ὄρειος.[6] מסכר[7] is to be identified with the Greek Μνημοσύνη, the mother of the nine muses. She appears nowhere as a deity of prominence. In Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 915–917, she is named as the fifth among the seven goddesses who are enumerated as having born children to Zeus She shares her cult with her daughters, and sometimes she is spoken of as being worshiped together with other deities.

These are the deities of whose worship in Sidon or by Sidonians

[1] *Z. D. M. G.*, 1905, p. 488.

[2] See below, p. 145.

[3] *K.A.T.*[3], pp. 224, 478.

[4] Baudissin, *Studien*, II, p. 177; but cp. La Grange, *Études*, p. 164.

[5] Hesychius, *Lex.*, under θαλάσσιος.

[6] Renan, *Mission*, p. 397.

[7] For מזכר.

we have positive information. That other Phœnician and Greek deities[1] had shrines there cannot be doubted, but for additional light we must look to the excavations of the future.

Christianity was introduced in Sidon very early in the Apostolic age;[2] in the fourth century the city was the seat of a Christian bishop,[3] and the writings of the pilgrims show that he continued to reside there.[4] With the Mohammedan conquest of Syria Islam was introduced there, and it has remained the predominant religion in the city to the present day. During the period of the Crusades the Christians had at times the upper hand, but after the final evacuation of the city by the Christians Islam prevailed, though the Christians continued to reside there. The latter did not remain unaffected by the schisms which troubled the Church from time to time, and as a result different sects arose. Jews, though at times few in number, have always been found there.[5] In 1851 the American Presbyterian Mission opened a station, which has done excellent work, especially along educational lines. In 1896 Cuinet distributed the population of about 11,000 among the different religions as follows: 8,000 Moslems, 2,250 Catholics (made up of Roman Catholics, Greek United, Greek Orthodox, and Maronites), 600 Jews, and 180 Protestants.[6]

[1] Dimašḳî mentions a temple of Mercury, the Greek *Hermes*, in Sidon; *Nukhbat ad-dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 43.

[2] See above, p. 79.

[3] See above, p. 79.

[4] Cp. also *Orientalische Bibliographie*, XVII, 5687; XVIII, 5920, 5921.

[5] In the latter half of the seventeenth century there were many Jews in Sidon, who dwelt in a quarter by themselves, the keys of which were carried every night to the *Kadi* or the governor. D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, I, p. 301.

[6] For religious institutions see above, p. 109.

V. ANTIQUITIES AND INSCRIPTIONS

The site of the ancient city of Sidon has supplied more objects of historical and archæological interest than any other city in Phœnicia. Three localities have given forth most of these objects—the necropolis in the south,[1] the necropolis in the east,[2] and the site of the temple of Ešmun. The first necropolis was discovered in January, 1855. While some natives were digging for treasures near *Maghâret Ablûn* they came upon a sarcophagus, the cover of which contained a Phœnician inscription of twenty-two lines, the first found in Phœnicia proper. The sarcophagus proved to be that of Ešmunazar II, king of Sidon.[3] Though additional excavations were carried on in the same place,[4] it remained the only find of value. The discoveries in the eastern necropolis have been more numerous and important. The most productive excavations there took place in 1887, and the most interesting finds were again sarcophagi.[5]

The tombs, which are all cut in limestone rocks, are of various kinds. These were described by Renan[6] long before Hamdy Bey made his remarkable discoveries, and the latter have confirmed the conclusions of the earlier writer in all essentials. Renan distinguishes between three kinds of tombs. 1. Rectangular grottoes, which are entered from above by perpendicular shafts ten to thirteen feet in depth and three to seven feet in width. Steps are cut in the side of the shafts which lead to doors opening into plain, unadorned chambers. In only two cases did Renan find the two chambers connected. This kind

[1] See above p. 5. [2] See above p. 5.

[3] Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars*, p. 2.

[4] *Z. D. M. G.*, X, p. 820.

[5] O. Hamdy et Thé. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*, Paris, 1892, *passim.*, cp. *P. E. F.*, 1887, pp. 210–212; 1888, p. 5ff.; p. 140.

[6] *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 401ff.

he considers the oldest. 2. Vaulted grottoes with side niches for the sarcophagi, or merely with square holes in the ground, and with airholes communicating with the surface above. 3. Grottoes cemented with lime, and decorated in Greek, Roman, or Christian style, and generally furnished with Greek inscriptions. Some of these also have airholes. Sometimes grottoes of an earlier kind have been remodeled in a later style.[1] The sarcophagi also are of different styles. The grottoes of the first kind, which are the oldest, contain ma ble sarcophagi of anthropoid form, *i.e.*, receptacles accurately fitted to the shape of the human body. In time these sarcophagi assumed a more simple form, when only the position of the head was indicated by a narrowing of the receptacle at one end. Sarcophagi of lead and some with simple three-edged lids are also found. The sarcophagi in the grottoes of the second kind are generally of clay; those in the grottoes of the third kind resemble baths in shape and are highly decorated.[2]

Of the numerous sarcophagi found in these burying places only two are of positive historical value, but two others may be considered briefly on account of their artistic beauty—*the sarcophagus of the mourning women* and the one called *the sarcophagus of Alexander*[3], both of which are beautiful specimens of ancient art. Lewis describes the former in these words: "It represents a Greek Ionic temple in antis, but with three-quarter columns only between the two antæ, and three-quarter columns to the sides. Between each two columns or antæ is a female figure showing signs of deep affliction. In all there are eighteen of these statues. The temple rests on a stylobate, having a finely moulded base and surbase, the dado being enriched with figures, partly sculptured and partly painted. The cover represents the roof of a temple, and in the pediment at each end is a fine group

[1] Renan, *Mission*, pp. 407, 408.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 411; cp. also Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, III, p. 151ff.

[3] The reason for giving this name to the sarcophagus is stated below. All ancient tradition points to Egypt as the final resting place of the great conqueror. *P.E.F.*, 1894, p. 120ff.

of sculpture. As a curious variation from the temple form, there is along each side, surmounting the cornice, a tablet, on which is carved a funeral procession."[1] Sittl thinks[2] that this sarcophagus reflects the art of the fourth century B.C.

The so-called sarcophagus of Alexander is the grandest in the collection. It is made of one block of white marble, about eleven feet long, with a coped and pedimented cover. It has no columnar decorations, but possesses an enriched cornice and base. The panels between these on each side are filled with sculptures of marvelously fine execution. On two sides the subject is the chase, on the other two are represented combats between warriors, both on horse and on foot. One prominent figure reminded Hamdy Bey of that of Darius in a mosaic from Pompeii, and another prominent figure, he thinks, represents Alexander; and it is not improbable that the sculptures represent conflicts between the Persians and the great Macedonian. The cover is the conventional coped form, but it is enriched with rows of heads on the eaves line and on the ridge. At each end of the eaves is a lion.[3] Sittl places this sarcophagus in the period of the Seleucidæ.[4]

As works of art, these two sarcophagi, and to a less extent others which have been unearthed, are exceedingly interesting, but of direct historical interest are only two, the sarcophagus of Ešmunazar II and that of his father Tabnit. The former was discovered on January 19, 1855, a short distance south of Sidon. "On the 19th of January last," reads one of the early descriptions of the find, "some men were digging for more hid treasures in the ancient cemetery on the plain of Sidon, called *Mughorat Tubloon,* when, at the depth of about twelve feet below the surface, and near the walls of an ancient edifice, they

[1] *P. E. F.*, 1888, pp. 5, 6. A fuller description is given by Reinach, *Une nécropole,* chap. V, p. 238ff.

[2] *Archæologie der Kunst,* München, 1895, p. 656.

[3] Reinach, chap. VI, p. 272ff. ; *P. E. F.*, 1888, p. 6 ; 1894, p. 120ff. An excellent description, a reprint from the *Bachir* of Beyrut, is in *P.E.F.*, 1887, pp. 204, 205.

[4] *Archæologie der Kunst,* pp. 684, 685.

uncovered a sarcophagus, upon the lid of which is a long Phœnician inscription. The lid is of a blue-black marble, intensely hard and taking a very fine polish. The lid is about eight feet long by four feet wide. The upper end is wrought into the figure of a female(?)[1] head and shoulders of almost a giant size. The features are Egyptian, with large, full, almond-shaped eyes, the nose flattened and the lips remarkably thick and somewhat after the negro mould. The whole countenance is smiling, agreeable, and expressive beyond anything I have ever seen in the disinterred monuments of Egypt or Nineveh. The head-dress resembles that which appears in Egyptian figures, while on each shoulder there is the head of some kind of bird—a dove or pigeon—and the bosom is covered by what appears to be a sort of cape with a deep fringe, as of lace. On the lid, below the figurehead, is the inscription, consisting of twenty-two lines, closely written.''[2]

From this inscription, which was in a good state of preservation, it was soon learned that the sarcophagus, though of Egyptian make,[3] contained at one time the body of Ešmunazar II, king of Sidon, the son of Tabnit, king of Sidon, the grandson of Ešmunazar I, king of Sidon. In the inscription the younger Ešmunazar bewails the fact that he was taken away so early in life. He states that he has prepared his own resting place, and prays that no one may disturb his remains; but if anyone should molest his tomb, may the curse of heaven rest upon him.[4] In the second part he gives his genealogy and states that he reigned together with his mother; he enumerates the temples erected by them, acknowledges the gift of Dor and Joppa from the lord of kings, and closes with a reiteration of the petition for the curse

[1] Closer examination has shown it to be a male figure; cp. Meier, *Die Grabschrift des sidonischen Königs Eschmun-ezer*, p. 2. Other literature dealing with this inscription is referred to in other parts of this chapter. Cp. also Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phönikische Inschriften*, p. 30ff.; that of Tabnit is discussed on p. 57f. La Grange, *Études*, p. 404ff.; Tabnit, p. 408ff.

[2] *J. A. O. S.*, V, p. 228; cp. also Reinach, *Une nécropole*, p. 127ff.

[3] Renan, *Mission*, p. 413ff.

[4] See above p., 132.

of heaven upon anyone who may dare to desecrate his resting place.[1]

The sarcophagus of Tabnit is in some respects a counterpart of that of Ešmunazar.[2] It was uncovered on May 31, 1887, in the necropolis east of Sidon.[3] This sarcophagus is of black marble; like that of Ešmunazar it is anthropoid in shape; but while the latter shows the human form only in the head and shoulders, the lines of the sarcophagus running from there straight down, the sarcophagus of Tabnit has the flowing lines, and so gives a more complete outline of the figure. The measurements of the lid Hamdy Bey states to be as follows:

Length from head to foot	2 metres	30	ctm.
Width of shoulders	1 metre	10	"
Width of feet		80	"
Thickness of feet		40	"
Length of hieroglyphic lines		70	"
Width of hieroglyphic lines		10	"
Length of the Phœnician inscription		57	"

There are eleven lines of hieroglyphic writing, the epitaph of an Egyptian general Penptaḥ, covering the lower part of the lid. "In this inscription," says Berger, "we have the evident proof that we are in the presence of a sarcophagus of Egyptian make,[4] which was diverted from its primary destination and sold to Phœnicia, to receive the remains of a Phœnician prince."[5] A Phœnician inscription of seven and a half lines covers the feet. In substance it resembles that of

[1] C. I. S., I, No. 3.

[2] Reinach, *Une nécropole*, p. 128; Berger, in *Rev. arch.*, 1887, II, p. 4. The Egyptian inscription is discussed on p. 8f.

[3] For a full account of the discovery and description of the finds see *Rev. arch.*, 1887, p. 138ff.; Hamdy et Reinach, *Une nécropole*, pp. 86ff., 127ff.

[4] But cp. *Rev. arch.*, 1905, II, p. 31ff.

[5] *Rev. arch.*, 1887, II, p. 5. Just how this sarcophagus and that of Ešmunzar came to Sidon, it is difficult to tell. Probably it was stolen from an Egyptian tomb. If so, the conquest of Egypt by Artaxerxes Ochus would furnish a suitable occasion. See *Rev. arch.*, 1887, II, p. 10.

Ešmunazar, though it is much briefer. It opens with the genealogy of the king, "Tabnit, priest of Aštart, king of the Sidonians, son of Ešmunazar, priest of Aštart, king of the Sidonians," and continues and closes with a curse upon anyone who might dare to open and disturb his resting place.[1] The two inscriptions name three generations of Sidonian kings, Ešmunazar I, Tabnit, Ešmunazar II.

In 1858, only three years after the discovery of the sarcophagus of Ešmunazar, the English Consul, Mr. Moore, discovered on the site of the ancient city a votive inscription of בדעשתרת, king of the Sidonians,[2] in which he states that he erected in the beginning of his reign a שרן to Aštart. A bilingual inscription found in 1877 on the island of Delos[3] contains a similar name, עבדעשתרת, who is said to have been king of the Sidonians. Though the two names are similar, there is enough dissimilarity in the first elements of the two names to preclude an identification of the two kings, and there is insufficient reason for regarding the former an abbreviation of the latter.[4]

Within more recent years the former name has been found in a number of inscriptions which have been unearthed, since 1900, in the ruins of the ancient Ešmun temple, south of the *Nahr-al-Auwaly*.[5] All these inscriptions represent copies, with important variations in some cases, of the inscriptions of Bod-Aštart commemorating the erection of the temple.[6] These inscriptions have proved very troublesome to epigraphists, and opinions vary still widely concerning the reading and translation of some

[1] V. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orient,* II, p. 5, No. 4.

[2] C. I. S., I, No. 4; Levy, *Phönizische Studien,* III, p. 25ff. Ewald, in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen,* 1866, p. 105ff. שרן is a word of uncertain meaning; see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* s.v. שרן. Von Landau suggests the translation *memorial column.*

[3] C. I. S., I, No. 114; cp. *Bull. de corresp. hell.,* 1878, pp. 9, 10.

[4] *J. A. O. S.,* XXIII, p. 170.

[5] See above, p. 8.

[6] V. Landau, *Mitt. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft,* 1904, p. 282, mentions ten of the first class, *i.e.,* inscriptions without the name of Bod-Aštart's son; *ib.,* 1905, p. 11, he names ten of the second class, *i.e.,* such as contain that name. Cp. *Der Alte Orient,* VIII, 3, p. 14ff.

parts of the inscriptions, as well as concerning their date. Of the first class we may select as a typical example the inscription published by Torrey.[1] This inscription he reads:

מלך בדעשתרת מלך צדנם בן בן מלך
אשמנעזר מלך צדנם בצדן ים
שמם רמם ארץ רשף מצדן משל אש בן
כצר נשר אית הבת ז בז לאלי
לאשמן שר קדש

This is his translation:

"The king, Bod-Aštart, king of the Sidonians, grandson of king Ešmunazar, king of the Sidonians, reigning in Sidon-on-the-sea, High-Heavens, and the Reshep district, belonging to Sidon; who built this house like the eyrie of an eagle; (he) built it for his god Ešmun, the Holy Lord."

In a subsequent article[2] he suggests one alteration in the fourth line; he combines the first two words, reading them, **וצרנשר**, which he translates "and he solidly walled."[3] In all other respects he adheres to his first reading and interpretation.

The difficulties begin in line two, right after the name and title of the king's grandfather. Beginning there v. Landau translates:[4] "In Sidon-sea, the high heavens, earth, netherworld, Sidon rules, what in it and Sidon is ruler. This temple he has built." This literal reproduction he retranslates:[5] "In Sidon on the sea, in Šamîm-ramîm in Ereṣ-rešafîm, Sidon, has he been successful in that which he has built. And in Sidon in the plain has he built this temple." In the terms *Sidon on the sea*, *Šamîm-ramîm* = high heavens, *Ereṣ-rešafîm* = netherworld, *Sidon in the plain*, he finds an illustration of the cosmological theories of Winckler,[6] and he thinks that they denote at least

[1] *J. A. O. S.*, XXIII, p. 156ff.

[2] *J. A. O. S.*, XXIV, p. 211ff.; cp. also XXV, p. 324ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 216, 217.

[4] *Mitt. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1904, p. 321.

[5] *Ib.*, p. 328.

[6] *Himmelsbild und Weltenbild*, Leipzig, 1901, in *Der Alte Orient*, vol. III, p. 22ff.

three different quarters of Sidon,[1] which were looked upon as reflections of different spheres of heaven.[2] Berger thinks that the meaning of the names is still an open question.[3] Clermont-Ganneau recognizes five place names in the inscription—Sidon on the sea, Šamîm-ramîm, Ereṣ-rešafîm, Sidon-Mišal, Sidon of the plain.[4] Halévy thinks that the names are names of deities and not of places, and he translates: "In Sidon (the gods) Yam, Šamîm-ramîm, Ereṣ-rešafîm, Sidon constitute the government which is in our midst, and (the god) Sidon exercises the sovereignty."[5] The exact meaning of the terms cannot be considered definitely determined, and yet it seems most natural to interpret them as denoting different quarters of Sidon. On the whole, Torrey, who indulges in the least amount of speculation, seems to offer the explanation which is at once the most simple and the most satisfactory.[6]

The inscription raises, however, other questions. Bod-Aštart calls himself "grandson of king Ešmunazar, king of the Sidonians." Is this the Ešmunazar who is called the father of Tabnit and the grandfather of Ešmunazar II? If so, what is the relation of Bod-Aštart to Tabnit and Ešmunazar II? The first question is answered almost universally in the affirmative. Von Landau is the only one among recent writers who seems inclined to assume another dynasty. He places the dynasty of Ešmunazar and Tabnit in the period of the Ptolemies, and that of Ešmunazar and Bod-Aštart in the Persian period.[7] Those who believe that Bod-Aštart belongs to the dynasty known

[1] *Mitteil. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft,* 1904, p. 324. He calls them Sidon on the sea, Sidon, Sidon on the plain.

[2] Sidon on the sea = the heavenly ocean; Sidon = שמם רמם = the upper heaven; Sidon on the plain = ארץ רשפם = the realm of fire = the heavenly earth. [3] *Mém. de l'acad. des inscr. et belles lettres,* XXXVII, p. 265ff.

[4] *Rec. d'arch. or.,* V, p. 225.

[5] *Rev. Sémit.,* 1905, p. 68ff.; cp. 1902, p. 347ff.; 1903, p. 48ff.

[6] A brief résumé of the various attempts to translate and interpret the inscriptions of Bod-Aštart may be found in *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique,* I, p. 234ff.

[7] *Mitt. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft,* 1904, p. 307; 1905, p. 9.

from the other inscriptions held, until quite recently, that Bod-Aštart was the son of a son of Ešmunazar I, who had never come to the throne, and that he became king after the death of Ešmunazar II.[1] But when an inscription was discovered containing the name of a king צדקיתן, in a position where the name of Bod-Aštart's father might be expected, it became necessary to reopen the subject, for room had to be found for another king. The question assumed a new aspect when additional inscriptions associating the two names בדעשתרת and צדקיתן were discovered, for it was found that the first discovered inscription had been read incorrectly, and that the views based upon the incorrectly read text had to be modified. The following may be considered an accurate reproduction of one of these inscriptions:[2]

מלך בדעשתרת ובן צדקיתן מלך מלך צדנם
בן בן מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם אית הבת ז בן
לאלי לאשמן שר קדש

The presence of the conjunction ו after בדעשתרת in the first line suggests that the relationship between Bod-Aštart and Ṣedeḳ-yathon is not the same as that indicated in the inscriptions in which the conjunction is absent; in other words, that Bod-Aštart does not mean to call Ṣedeḳ-yathon his father. A literal translation of *ll.* 1, 2 would be: "King Bod-Aštart, and the son Ṣedeḳ-yathon, the king, the king of the Sidonians, built this house"; which means that Bod-Aštart and Ṣedeḳ-yathon were associated in the building enterprise.[3] "*The* son,"

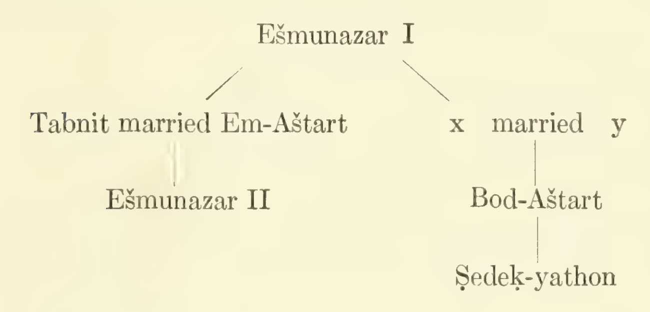
[1] Berger, *Mémoires de l'acad. des inscr. et belles lettres*, XXXVII, pp. 288, 289; Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'arch. or.*, V, p. 249; Torrey, *J. A. O. S.*, XXIII, p. 168, n. 1.

[2] *Mitt. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1905, p. 5.

[3] The omission of the ו as due to a mistake of the ancient writer would remove the peculiarity and bring this inscription into accord with other royal inscriptions from Sidon, but the fact that the ו is found in every inscription containing the two names is a strong argument against the textual emendation.

in the first line, may be equivalent to "*his* son," *i.e.*, the son of Bod-Aštart; he is called also מַלך, but there is no indication of the place where he ruled. This omission has led von Landau to take מלך in the sense of "member of the ruling dynasty" or "prince," more particularly "crown prince," the prince who is expected to succeed the king upon the throne.[1] A similar usage is found in southern Arabia, and there is nothing improbable in the suggestion. In classical Arabic the corresponding noun is used with the meaning *vizier*. If it is adopted, the entire inscription may be translated: "King Bod-Aštart and (his) son Ṣedeḳ-yathon, the crown prince, king of the Sidonians,[2] grandson of king Ešmunazar, king of the Sidonians, built this house to his god Ešmun, the holy lord."

This translation makes Ṣedeḳ-yathon not the father, but the son of Bod-Aštart; as a result the first explanation, that Bod-Aštart was the son of an otherwise unknown son of Ešmunazar I, must be retained. The following diagram will show the genealogy of the kings of the Ešmunazar dynasty:[3]



[1] *Mitt. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1905, p. 8; but cp. *A. O.*, VIII, 17

[2] "King of the Sidonians" refers to Bod-Aštart.

[3] Of those who consider Ṣedeḳ-yathon the father of Bod-Aštart, Torrey believes the order of succession to have been Ešmunazar I, Ṣedeḳ-yathon, Tabnit, Bod-Aštart, Ešmunazar II (Em-Aštart); *J. A. O. S.*, XXIV, p. 218ff. On the other hand, Rouvier arranges them in the order Ešmunazar I, Tabnit, Ešmunazar II, Ṣedeḳ-yathon, Bod-Aštart; see *Rec. d'arch. or.*, VI, p. 166. Dussaud still holds that the father of Bod-Aštart never was king, and he arranges the kings in this order: Ešmunazar I, Tabnit, Ešmunazar II, Bod-Aštart; *Rev. arch.*, 1905, I, p. 1ff. These views, which are based upon the

Of the reign of Ešmunazar I we know nothing; Tabnit was still in middle life when he died;[1] Ešmunazar II ruled fourteen years and died, still a young man, without children. It was then that Bod-Aštart, his cousin, came to the throne and enjoyed a long reign.[2] What became of Ṣedeḳ-yathon we do not know. He may have died before his father; at any rate, nothing has come to light thus far to show that he ever came to the throne.

With this interpretation agrees, on the whole, Clermont-Ganneau,[3] though he differs in important details. In *l.* 1 he proposes to group the words differently; צדק he does not consider a part of the name, but connecting it with בן, he translates the two words "the legitimate son," to which he gives the same meaning which is given above to מלך, "crown prince"; then, connecting יתן with מלך, he reads the name of the crown prince יתנמלך,[4] and the whole of *l.* 1, "The king Bod-Aštart, and the crown prince Yathon-melek, the king of the Sidonians." The combination יתנמלך is peculiar; ordinarily the divine name מלך is found in first place, followed by an Imperfect, and not in second place, preceded by a Perfect. For this reason the reading צדקיתן seems preferable.

The most difficult question remains yet to be considered, namely, the date of the Ešmunazar dynasty. Differences of opinion on this point began with the first translation of the inscription of Ešmunazar. Salisbury assigned it to the latter half of the generation intervening between the destruction of Sidon by Artaxerxes Ochus and its surrender to Alexander; in other words, c. 340 B.C.[5] With him agreed W. W. Turner.[6] Ewald was inclined to date it at least as early as the eleventh

early erroneous reading of the text, can no longer be held. The reading and interpretation adopted above removes also the difficulty which was raised by the erroneous reading מלך מלכם; *J. A. O. S.*, XXIV, p. 223.

[1] *J. A. O. S.*, XXIII, p. 168, n. 2.

[2] The character of the ruins of the Ešmun temple shows that Bod-Aštart had a long reign; cp. *Mitteil. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1905, p. 1ff.

[3] *Rec. d'arch. or.*, VI, p. 337ff.

[4] Cp. also *Rev. arch.*, 1905, I, p. 9; now also v. Landau, *A. O.*, VIII, 17.

[5] *J. A. O. S.*, V, p. 243.

[6] *Ib.*, p. 259.

century B.C.[1] Hitzig placed it before the last decade of the seventh century B.C.[2] The Duke de Luynes thought that the historical, linguistic, palæographic, and artistic data all pointed to 574–572 B.C.[3] Finally, Levy dated it c. 335.[4] The difference of opinion was due to the absence of decisive data, on the basis of which the question could be determined definitely. Later discoveries have added to the data supplied by the Ešmunazar inscription, so that it is impossible to accept any longer the early date proposed by Ewald; but they are still indefinite enough to leave much room for differences of opinion. In 1873 Halévy defended the date suggested by the Duke de Luynes,[5] and after the discovery of the necropolis east of Sidon in 1887, Reinach expressed the view that the dynasty of Ešmunazar was contemporaneous with the Persian kings of the second half of the sixth century B.C.[6] In support of this view he calls attention to the character of the sarcophagi, their disposition in the funeral chambers, the order in which different methods of burial were practiced, the place occupied by the sarcophagus of Tabnit as compared with the location of the other sarcophagi, and the resemblance of the articles found in the necropolis to similar articles found in Egypt. From all the facts in the case he drew the conclusion that the sarcophagus of Tabnit was the oldest of those found at *Ayaa*; but to provide room for all the others, he thought he must assign Tabnit to the sixth century, c. 520 B.C.[7] An earlier date even is advocated by Porter. "It is difficult," says he, "to find space for such a dynasty any time subsequent to Nebuchadrezar, so as to accord with the known facts in the history of Phœnicia."[8]

A much later date has been advocated for many years by

[1] *Erklärung der grossen phönizischen Inschrift von Sidon*, p. 49ff.

[2] *Die Grabschrift des Ešmunazar*, p. 37ff.

[3] *Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire de Ešmunazar*, p. 55ff.

[4] *Phönizische Studien*, I, p. 41.

[5] *Congrès Internat. des orient.*, 1873, 1*er* session, II, p. 245.

[6] *Une nécropole*, p. 343ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 373. See also *Rev. arch.*, 1905, II, p. 54.

[8] *P. E. F.*, 1903, p. 335.

Clermont-Ganneau, and is accepted now by many other scholars.[1] The argument in favor of the late date is cumulative. 1. The sarcophagus of Ešmunazar represents a late Egyptian type.[2] 2. The characters in the hieroglyphic inscription on the sarcophagus of Tabnit point to the latest Persian period;[3] which implies that the Phœnician inscription is even later. 3. ארן מלכם[4] is not a Persian title; on the other hand, it is used several times of the Ptolemies.[5] 4. The term ארלן is thought to be a transliteration of the Greek εἴδωλον.[6] Weighty though these arguments may be, they have not convinced all scholars, and it must be admitted that they are by no means conclusive. The successive stages in the art of Egypt are not definitely enough marked off from one another to justify the assertion that the sarcophagus of Ešmunazar could not come from the fifth or even the sixth century B.C. The same is true of the character of the hieroglyphic writing. Nor is the argument from silence in the case of ארן מלכם conclusive; and the identification upon which the fourth argument is based has been called into question.[7]

On the other hand, the arguments in favor of the early date are equally inconclusive. Dussaud has pointed out[8] that the facts in the case do not presuppose as long an interval between the earliest and latest burials at *Ayaa* as is assumed by Reinach.

[1] *e.g.*, E. Meyer, *Encl. Bibl.*, art. *Phœnicia*; Berger, *Rev. arch.*, 1887, II, pp. 7, 8. "Who knows," says the latter, "if not the death and the end of the dynasty of Ešmunazar, who appears to have died without children, coincided with the change of government—from the early Seleucidæ to the Ptolemies; see above, p. 72—and with the beginning of the era of the people of Tyre?"

[2] Renan, *Mission*, p. 414, n. 3; *C. I. S.*, I, p. 20.

[3] Maspero, *Rev. arch.*, 1887, II, p. 9.

[4] C. I. S., I, 3, *l.* 18.

[5] C. I. S., I, Nos. 93, 94, 95. The inscr. of Ma'sub, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, X, pp. 503, 508; *Rec. d'arch. or.*, V, p. 223; cp. 253.

[6] Halévy, *Rev. des Études Juives*, XV, pp. 292–295; cp. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. XXVIII.

[7] Sometimes the finding in the tomb of Tabnit of a coin bearing the name of Ptolemy has been urged in favor of a late date, but Reinach denies that it was found there; he affirms that it was found in a tomb of a later date; *Une nécropole*, p. 354.

[8] *Rev. arch.*, 1905, I, p. 16ff.

The same writer has made a new attempt to fix the date of the dynasty of Ešmunazar.[1] He believes that there is enough in the arguments of Reinach to make improbable the late date suggested by Clermont-Ganneau. On the other hand, he thinks that there is no warrant for going back to the sixth century; he, therefore, suggests a date between the two extremes, 470–410 B.C. This date is based chiefly upon the testimony of coins from Sidon. Babelon distinguishes[2] between seven types of Sidonian coins struck between 400 and 332 B.C. To five of these types, he thinks, correspond five Sidonian kings, four of whom he identifies as follows: Strato I, 374–362; Tennes, 362–350; Euagoras of Salamis, 349–346; Strato II, 346–332. Between 400 and 332, therefore, no room can be found for the dynasty of Ešmunazar. But Rouvier has gone beyond the labors of Babelon and has differentiated, preceding the four kings named by Babelon, nine additional types of coins, belonging to the period from c. 480 to 374 B.C.[3] Dussaud thinks that the names on some of these types cannot be identified with the names in the dynasty of Ešmunazar; but all these, he believes, can be placed later than 410, which leaves 480 or 470–410 as a suitable place for the dynasty.[4] We know that during these years Sidon was supreme in Phœnicia, and Dussaud suggests that for the services rendered to the Persian kings, one of them may have bestowed upon Ešmunazar Dor and Joppa.[5]

If it could be *proved* that the dynasty cannot belong to the close of the fourth and the beginning of the third century, the period suggested by Dussaud might offer a suitable place; however, a date subsequent to Alexander the Great seems to accord best with what we do know from other sources of the history of

[1] *Ib.*, p. 1ff. [2] *Bull. de corresp. hell.*, 1891, p. 293ff.

[3] *Journal internat. d'arch. numism.*, 1902, pp. 99ff., 229ff.

[4] Clermont-Ganneau thinks that Babelon's conclusions are in perfect accord with his own views—*Journal Asiat.*, 1892, I, p. 115.

[5] Cp. Scylax, p. 42. Clermont-Ganneau sees an allusion to this gift in Theocritus, *Idyl.*, XVII, *l.* 110, which says that Ptolemy II gave much to the brave kings; *Annales du Musée Guimet*, X, p. 508.

Phœnicia. If this conclusion is correct, the order in which the kings ruled must have been Abdalonimus, Ešmunazar I, Tabnit, Ešmunazar II, Bod-Aštart, Ṣedek-yathon(?), Philocles, Republic.[1]

The inscriptions and sarcophagi discussed in the preceding pages are undoubtedly the most important archæological finds made on the site of ancient Sidon, but to these may be added a few other objects which are not without interest. Among them may be mentioned a beautiful marble column of the third century B.C. It contains an inscription of two lines, which states that the column was erected by עבדמסכר in honor of שלמן. This inscription is of interest because it mentions the Assyrian deity שלמן, and in the name of the donor occurs the divine element מסכר=מזכר=Μνημοσύνη.[2] Two fragments of inscriptions containing two or three lines of writing are mentioned by Clermont-Ganneau as having been found near Sidon,[3] but they are so damaged that he makes no attempt to translate them. He also describes a beautiful sarcophagus made of white marble and ornamented with sculptures representing mythical scenes.[4] It comes from the first centuries of the Roman empire and belonged to one Hermogenes, who died at the age of fifty. A fragment of a dedicatory inscription of two lines was found in the temple of Ešmun.[5] Levy describes a bilingual Nabathean-Greek inscription, which he dates c. 25 A.D.[6] In addition to these many interesting objects and inscriptions in Phœnician, Greek, and Latin, coming from periods far apart, have been found in the burying places and gardens surrounding the present town.[7] Also a few Egyptian fragments have been found. The most interesting of these is a fragment of black basalt, on which may be seen part of a royal figure holding staff and mace. On the back is an inscription. Though damaged, it is thought to contain the name Necho.[8]

[1] See above, p.75. [2] *Journal Asiat.*, 1892, I, p.107f.; *Rec. d'arch. or.*, I, p.1ff.
[3] *Rec. d'arch. or.*, I, p. 77ff. [4] *Ib.*, I, p. 285ff. [5] *Ib.*, V, p. 34.
[6] *Z. D. M. G.*, XXIII, p. 435ff. [7] See Appendix III.
[8] *Proceed. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, 1894, pp. 90, 91; *Mitteil. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1904, p. 342ff.

In conclusion mention may be made of a few inscriptions which were not found in Sidon, but which have important bearing on the history of Sidon or of Sidonians. Here first place must be assigned to C. I. S., I, No. 5, a votive inscription in a bronze bowl dedicated to בעל לבנן by a servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians. This is the oldest Phœnician inscription known at present; it belongs to the period of Hiram II, who reigned in the eighth century B.C.[1] Reference has already been made to C. I. S., I, No. 114,[2] a bilingual inscription from Delos, which mentions Abd-Aštart, king of the Sidonians = Strato I, 374–362. From Athens come C. I. S., I, Nos. 115, 116, 119, as witnesses to the widespread influence of the Sidonians. Another inscription from the Piræus records a decree of the Sidonian colony in the Piræus to honor a fellow-citizen, Šama'-baal, for services rendered while he was an official of the community.[3] Records have been preserved also of Sidonian citizens receiving the honor of proxenos and benefactor; for example, Apollonides, son of Demetrius,[4] Heliodorus, son of Dionysius,[5] and Heliodorus, son of Mousaios.[6] Sons of Sidonians are named as being in the corps of the Attic ephebi,[7] and as victors in gymnastic games at Athens[8] and at Delos.[9]

A few words may be added concerning Sidonian coins. Gesenius knew only a few,[10] and until quite recently it was thought that the coining of money in Sidon had its beginning during the

[1] See above, p. 46; and v. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orient*, I, p. 17ff. By some it is assigned to a much earlier date; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 176.

[2] See above, p. 143.

[3] Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phönikische Inschriften*, No. 1; cp. C. I. A., II, suppl. No. 1335*b*.

[4] C. I. A., II, No. 171.

[5] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1898, p. 409.

[6] *Rec. d'arch. or.*, III, p. 146.

[7] C. I. A., II, No. 482, *ll.* 111, 121, 123.

[8] *Ib.*, No. 448, *l.* 16; 966, *l.* 21; 968, *l.* 53.

[9] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, VI, p. 146.

[10] *Monumenta*, pl. 34; p. 264ff. The first Phœnician coin from Sidon was recognized in 1708; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 93.

Ptolemaic period,[1] but the more recent investigations of J. P. Six,[2] E. Babelon,[3] and J. Rouvier[4] have made it certain that coins were struck in Sidon at a much earlier period, Rouvier tracing them back to c. 480 B.C. At that time the Sidonians were the most useful of the vassals of the Persian kings,[5] and it is not strange that in return for the services rendered they should have received from their sovereigns certain privileges, among them permission to coin their own money.

[1] Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia*, p. 534.

[2] *Numismatic Chron.*, 1877, p. 209ff.; 1884, p. 146ff.; 1894, p. 334ff.

[3] *Bull de corr. hell.*, 1891, p. 293ff.

[4] *Journal internat. d'arch. numism.*, 1902, pp. 99ff., 229ff.

[5] See above, p. 61ff.

[6] See further, Appendix II.

APPENDIX I

KINGS OF SIDON WHOSE NAMES ARE KNOWN FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS AND CLASSICAL WRITINGS

I. Egyptian Vassal Kings of Sidon.

c. 1375. Zimrida.[1]

II. Kings of Tyre Ruling in Sidon.[2]

c. 738. Hiram.[3]
c. 734. Metena.[4]
c. 730–701. Luli.[5]

III. Assyrian Vassal Kings of Sidon.

701–?. Tubalu.[6]
(?)–678. Abdimilkuti.[7]

[1] Mentioned very frequently in the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence (see above, p. 34ff.). B. 90, *ll.* 33, 34, implies that his ancestors also were kings of Sidon; but there is nothing to indicate how many were kings or how long they reigned.

[2] See above, pp. 43–47.

[3] III R. 9, *l.* 50ff.; C. I. S., I, No. 5; G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 274, *l.* 10ff. See above, p. 46. The Phœnician equivalents of the royal names have been given in the historical sections above, in all cases in which it was possible to determine these equivalents.

[4] II R. 67, *l.* 66; see above, p. 47.

[5] Sennacherib, *Bull. Inscr.* 2 and 3, *ll.* 17–20; I R. 43, *ll.* 13, 14; *Taylor Cyl.*, Col. II, *ll.* 34–46; *Bull. Inscr.* 4; see G. Smith, *Hist. of Senn.*, p. 54; III R. 12, *l.* 18. Josephus, *Ant.*, IX, 14, 2, says that Luli reigned thirty-six years. See above, p. 48ff.

[6] The Assyrian Inscriptions named in note 5 on preceding page.

[7] I R. 45, Col. 1, *ll.* 9–53; III R. 15, Col. II, *ll.* 27–30; Babyl. Chron. B., Col. IV, *l.* 1ff.

IV. Persian Vassal Kings of Sidon.

c. 445. ....עמ.[1]
c. 435. ....במ.[2]
c. 425. ....עב.[3]
c. 410. ....מ.[4]
c. 400. ....ב.[5]
c. 380. ....ב.[6]
374–362. Strato I.[7]
362–351. Tennes.[8]
351–350. Interregnum.[9]
350–346. Euagoras II of Salamis.[10]
346–332. Strato II.[11]

V. Vassal Kings of Alexander and of the Ptolemies.

332–?. Abdalonimus.[12]
c. 325. Ešmunazar I.[13]
c. 320. Tabnit.[14]
c. 314–300. Ešmunazar II (Em-Aštart).[15]
c. 300–280. Bod-Aštart.[16]
c. 280–275. Philocles.[17]
c. 275. Republic(?).[18]

[1] Type of Sidonian coins, IV; see below, p. 159.
[2] Type V. [3] Type VI. [4] Type VII.
[5] Type VIII. [6] Type X.
[7] Type XI; C. I. G., I, 87; C. I. A., II, 86; Theopompos, Fragm. 126; Ælianus, *Varia hist.*, VII, 2; Jerome, *Adv. Jov.*, I, 45.
[8] Type XII; Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, XVI, 41–45.
[9] See note 10.
[10] Type XIII; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1891, p. 310; Diodorus, XVI, 46.
[11] Curtius, IV, 3, 4; Justin, XI, 10; type XIV.
[12] Curtius, IV, 3, 4; Justin, XI, 10; type XVII.
[13] C. I. S., I, No. 3; Inscr. of Tabnit; Inscr. of Bod-Aštart.
[14] Inscr. of Tabnit; C. I. S., I, No. 3.
[15] C. I. S., I, No. 3.
[16] Inscriptions of Bod-Aštart; see above, p. 143ff.
[17] C. I. A., II, 1371; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, IV, 327ff.; XIV, 407, 409; XV, 137.
[18] See above, p. 75.

APPENDIX II

THE COINS OF SIDON

As is stated on page 155, until quite recently it was thought that the coining of money in Sidon had its beginning during the Ptolemaic period.[1] In 1877 B. V. Head still speaks very hesitatingly about Sidonian coins of the Persian period.[2] Ten years later he calls the coins which he describes in the earlier work Sidonian, and suggests that they may have been struck in Tripolis, in the quarter belonging to the Sidonians.[3] This is in accord with the view expressed three years earlier by J. P. Six,[4] who discussed Sidonian coins as early as 1877 in an article entitled *Observations sur les monnaies phéniciennes*.[5] In it he distinguishes between three types of Sidonian coins struck during the Persian period. Under each he recognizes several variations —under the first type, six, under the second, five, and under the third, six. To the years 332–309 he assigns thirty-seven coins, one or more to each year, with the exception of 319–315, to which years are assigned none. He also mentions numerous coins of the period of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, and of the period of Sidonian autonomy, as late as 43 A.D.[6] In 1894 he had come to distinguish seven types belonging to the

[1] J. Brandis, *Das Münz-, Mass-, und Gewichtswesen in Vorder Asien*, p. 270.

[2] *International Numismata*, Prt. III, 34,38.

[3] *Historia Numorum*, p. 671.

[4] *Numism. Chron.*, 1884, p. 146ff.

[5] *Numism. Chron.*, 1877, p. 177ff. The coins from Sidon are discussed on p. 195ff.

[6] This shows to be incorrect the statement of Lenormant (*Dict. des antiquités grecques et romaines*, under *Drachma tyria*) that Pompey closed the mint of Sidon in 63 B.C. What is said in the subsequent pages will show that Reinach's statement, that the coinage of money was suppressed in Tyre in 56 A.D. (*Actes et conférences de la société des Études Juives*, p. CCVI) cannot be referred to Sidon, as is done by Lambert in *Rev. des Études Juives*, LI, p. 234.

period between c. 380 and 331 B.C. In this he was undoubtedly influenced by the study of E. Babelon, *Les Monnaies et la chronologie des rois de Sidon*,[1] published in 1891, which contained the most comprehensive discussion of the subject up to that time. Babelon, on the basis of the inscriptions on the coins, their weight, style, and other peculiarities, distinguishes seven types among the alleged Sidonian coins of the Persian period:

Type	*Obverse*	*Reverse*	*Max. Weight*	*Peculiarities of Type.*
A	—	—	28 gr. 28	War galley with sail. No reading. No attendant behind chariot. The accessory figures *incuse*.
B	עב	עב	28 gr. 07	War galley without sail, before a fortress. Horses galloping. A wild goat *incuse*. Reading.
C	I to III	תיע	25 gr. 90	Galley without sail upon waves. Attendant behind chariot in Asiatic costume. Reading and numerals.
D	I to III	יעי	25 gr. 95	The same peculiarities.
E	I to III–	עב	25 gr. 85	Essentially the same characteristics. The attendant wears sometimes an Asiatic, sometimes an Egyptian costume.
F	(year 1 to year 21)	מזוי or מז	26 gr.	The same peculiarities. Writing is Aramaic. Attendant wears always the Asiatic costume.
G	ב	ע	28 gr. 30	Very fine style. Attendant is Egyptian. Letter ע appears only on oboles.

Of these, type A he assigns to the reign of an unknown king whose rule terminated in 374 B.C. עב on the coins of type B he considers an abbreviation of עבדעשתרת = Strato I, who reigned 374–362. Type C he assigns to Tennes, who was

[1] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1891, p. 293ff.

slain by Artaxerxes Ochus in 351; תע he thinks to be an abbreviation of his name. After the destruction of Sidon he assumes an interregnum of one year, which was ended by the appointment of Euagoras II, king of Salamis, as king of Sidon, where he ruled until 346.[1] To him he assigns type D, the abbreviation עע being found upon coins struck by the same king in Cyprus. The next type belongs to Strato II, עב = עבדעשתרת, who succeeded Euagoras and ruled until the capture of Sidon by Alexander the Great.

The coins of type F, bearing the inscription מזי, were struck, he thinks, by Mazaios, who was satrap of Syria from 350 B.C. to the coming of Alexander,[2] in one of the cities of Cilicia, over which he had been appointed satrap as early as 360. The last group originated in Egypt, between 346 and 343, under the direction of the eunuch Bagoas, friend and general of Artaxerxes. Babelon distinguishes also three types of bronze coins which resemble the coins described, but which, in the absence of names and dates, cannot be assigned to definite periods.

The most exhaustive study of Sidonian coins has been undertaken by J. Rouvier,[3] who describes more than five hundred different kinds, the earliest belonging to c. 480 B.C., the latest to about 235 A.D. He distinguishes seventy-five different types.

A. The Period before Alexander.

a. Phœnician Kings of Sidon (c. 480–332 B.C.).

I. Unknown king (c. 480–c. 470 B.C.), four kinds of coin.
II. Unknown king (c. 470–460 B.C.), one kind.
III. Unknown king (c. 460–450 B.C.), four kinds.
IV. Unknown ....עמ (c. 450–440 B.C.), one kind.

[1] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1891, p. 310; cp. Diodorus, XVI, 46.

[2] Cp. *Numismatic Chron.*, 1884, p. 146ff.

[3] *Journal internat. d'arch. numism.*, 1902, pp. 99ff., 229ff. On the whole Rouvier agrees with the conclusions of Babelon, but he believes that the coins of types F and G also originated in Sidon—*Rev. Numism.*, 242ff.; cp. 317ff., 421ff.

V. Unknown .... כמ (c. 440–430 B.C.), two kinds.
VI. Unknown .... עב (c. 430–415 B.C.), two kinds.
VII. Unknown .... מ (c. 415–405 B.C.), one kind.
VIII. Unknown .... ב (c. 405–395 B.C.), one kind.
IX. Unknown kings (of types III–VIII), three kinds.
X. Unknown .... ב (c. 390–374 B.C.), five kinds.
XI. Strato I (374–363 B.C.),[1] twenty-three kinds.
XII. Tennes (355–349 B.C.), five kinds.
XIII. Euagoras II (between 348 and 344 B.C.), seven kinds.
XIV. Strato II (344–332 B.C.), fourteen kinds.

b. Other Coins of the Same Period

XV. Mazaios, the satrap (351–332 B.C.).
(1) Coins of Sidonian type dated during the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus (359–338 B.C.).
(a) The interregnum between Tennes and Euagoras II (350–347 B.C.), five kinds.
(b) Interregnum between Euagoras II and Strato II; also the first years of Strato (343–338 B.C.), six kinds.
(2) Coins of Sidonian types, dated in the reigns of Arsis and Darius III (338–332 B.C.), five kinds.
XVI. Uncertain (350–332 B.C.), one kind.

B. The Period of Alexander and His Immediate Successors.

a. Phœnician Kings of Sidon (332–?).

XVII. (1) Abdalonimus (332–?), two kinds.
(2) Uncertain kings (332–281 B.C., or later), three kinds.

[1] The dates given by Rouvier are not quite the same as those suggested above in Appendix I. Absolute certainty is not possible at present.

b. Other Coins of the Same Period.

XVIII. Coins of Alexander (?–281 B.C.), thirty-one kinds.

XIX. Philip Arrhidæus (323–318 B.C.), four kinds.

C. Royal Coins without Dates or Dated according to the Era of the Seleucidæ (175–95 B.C.).[1]

XX. Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), ten kinds.

XXI. Demetrius I, Soter (162–150 B.C.), eleven kinds.

XXII. Alexander I (150–145 B.C.), nine kinds.

XXIII. Demetrius II, Nicator (first reign, 146–138 B.C.), sixteen kinds.

XXIV. Antiochus VII, Euergetes (138–129 B.C.), twelve kinds.

XXV. Demetrius II, Nicator (second reign, 130–125 B.C.), eight kinds.

XXVI.[2]

XXVII. (1) Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VIII (125–121 B.C.), two kinds.

(2) Antiochus VIII (125–96 B.C.), six kinds.

XXVIII. Antiochus IX (116–95 B.C.), two kinds.

D. Autonomous Coins not Dated (175–112 B.C.).

XXIX. From 174–112 B.C., seven kinds.

XXX. From 174–150 B.C., two kinds.

XXXI. From 174–112 B.C., one kind.

XXXII. From 174–112 B.C., one kind.

[1] The coins of the Ptolemaic period are not discussed by Rouvier in this article.

[2] Rouvier omits apparently type XXVI; however, the omission may be due to a typographical error, as he has two types XXVII; probably XXVII (1) should be XXVI.

E. Autonomous Coins Dated according to the Era of the Seleucidæ (121–111 B.C.).

XXXIII. From 121–114 B.C., five kinds.
XXXIV. In 111 B.C., one kind.

F. Autonomous Coins Dated according to the Era of Sidon (inaugurated in 112–111 B.C.).

XXXV. From 106–102 B.C., four kinds.
XXXVI. From c. 100–95 B.C., two kinds.
XXXVII. From 106 B.C.–43 A.D., twenty-four kinds.
XXXVIII. In 110 B.C., one kind.
XXXIX. From 109–43 B.C., fifteen kinds.
XL. From 44–117 A.D., seventeen kinds.
XLI. From 90–68 B.C., five kinds.
XLII. From 97–10 B.C., twenty-two kinds.
XLIII. In 29 B.C., one kind.
XLIV. In 27 B.C., one kind.
XLV. In 22 B.C., one kind.
XLVI. From 116–118 A.D., four kinds.
XLVII. In 26 A.D., one kind.
XLVIII. In 87 B.C., one kind.
XLIX. From 71 B.C.–6 A.D., ten kinds.
L. In 29 or 24 B.C., one kind.
LI. From 80–45 B.C., eight kinds.
LII. In 67 A.D., one kind.
LIII. From 63 B.C.–116 A.D., twenty kinds.
LIV. From 8 B.C.–116 A.D., four kinds.
LV. In 44 A.D., one kind.

G. Imperial Coins Dated according to the Era of Sidon.

LVI. Augustus (20 B.C.–14 A.D.), eleven kinds.
LVII. Augustus and Livia, one kind.
LVIII. Tiberius (14–37 A.D.), two kinds.
LIX. Caligula (37–41 A.D.), two kinds.
LX. Claudius (41–54 A.D.), four kinds.

LXI. Nero (54–68 A.D.), four kinds.
LXII. Vespasian (69–79 A.D.), one kind.
LXIII. Domitian and Domitia (year 201, era of S.), one kind.
LXIV. Trajan (98–117 A.D.), four kinds.
LXV. Hadrian (117–138 A.D.), four kinds.
LXVI. Pescennius Niger (193, 194 A.D.), one kind.
LXVII. Caracalla (197–217 A.D.), three kinds.

H. Imperial Colonial Coins.

LXVIII. Elagabalus (218–222 B.C.). Of the coins struck under this emperor in Sidon ten groups may be distinguished; of each several kinds are known, altogether eighty-one kinds.
LXIX. Julia Paula (219–220 A.D.), ten kinds.
LXX. Annia Faustina (221 A.D.), nine kinds.
LXXI. Aquilia Severa (220, 221 A.D.), one kind.
LXXII. Julia Soæmias (218–222 A.D.), two kinds.
LXXIII. Julia Mæsa (218–223 A.D.), fifteen kinds.
LXXIV. Severus Alexander Cæsar (before 222 A.D.), four kinds.
LXXV. Severus Alexander, Emperor (222–235 A.D.), twenty-two kinds.

APPENDIX III

ANTIQUITIES FROM SIDON

It is the purpose of this appendix to enumerate briefly some of the less important archæological finds on the site of ancient Sidon or in its immediate environments. In view of the great number of antiquities unearthed a description is out of the question here. Renan enumerates many antiquities found in or near Sidon, among them numerous Greek and Latin inscriptions, both of the early period and of the later Middle Ages; also Arabic inscriptions. A great number of objects were found in the necropolis, including a terra cotta statue of Athene, terra cotta and alabaster vases, lamps, pottery of various sorts, divers toilet articles, gold bracelets, necklaces, arms, glassware, keys and bottles.[1]

In *Archives des missions scientifique*, 1885, are mentioned the following: A funeral cippus,[2] the base of a funeral cippus with a Greek inscription,[3] a disk and a band of bronze with inscriptions,[4] a statue of Aštart, a fragment of a Phœnician inscription,[5] five bronze figures of Aštart and one of a man.[6] In *Gazette archéologique*, 1877, p. 102ff., Clermont-Ganneau describes a small column and a mural tablet, on which is painted a female figure reclining on a bier, with her head raised and resting on one hand.[7] On p. 107ff. he describes two painted funeral columns from Sidon, and the fragment of a third. A report by Lawrence Oliphant[8]

[1] Renan, *Mission*, pp. 361ff., 431. A summary of the finds is given on p. 484ff. In *Rec. d'arch. or.*, V, p. 212ff., are discussed six of the Greek inscriptions mentioned by Renan.

[2] P. 193. [3] P. 212. [4] P. 215. [5] P. 228.

[6] Pp. 228, 229, 241.

[7] These were shown to him in Jerusalem, and local tradition claims that they were found there, but he assigns them to Sidon; cp. also *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, I, p. 77.

[8] *P. E. F.*, 1886, p. 13.

states that a friend of his opened a tomb near Sidon, in which he found two pottery bottles seven inches high, three glass tear bottles, one silver ring much corroded and oxidised, with an inside diameter of an inch and a quarter, the ends united by a scarabæus, on the under side of which is a single character H; two silver finger rings, in one of which is a small turquoise; a gold pendant, which may have been the drop of an earring; two pebbles carved to resemble fishes' heads, two copper mirrors, some beads, and many other small objects of interest. During the excavations in 1887 Hamdy Bey found many articles of interest. Of these he describes[1] vases of terra cotta and alabaster, bowls in bronze and marble, buckles in bronze, plates of gold, an altar, buttons of gold, nails of bronze, bracelets of silver, bronze, and gold, bronze mirrors, rings of bronze and gold, frontlets of gold, a terra cotta lamp, candelabra in bronze, pearl beads, toilet articles of ivory, etc.

As coming from Sidon, Clermont-Ganneau enumerates also the following articles: Two heads or masks of terra cotta, a fragment of a statue of terra cotta representing the Egyptian deity Bes, two ear-pendants of gold, the base of a vase of terra cotta.[2] Fragments of six Greek inscriptions are described in *Rev. arch.*, 1898.[3]

In addition to the building inscriptions of Bod-Aštart, von Landau describes a number of articles found during the excavations under the direction of Macridy Bey on the side of the ancient Ešmun temple.[4] He enumerates fifteen fragments of Phœnician inscriptions, mostly on marble; all of these are apparently on objects presented as votive offerings. One inscription, described also in *Revue biblique*, 1902,[5] contains the name יתנצר, another, described in the same *Revue*,[6] the name עבדאם. Other fragments too small to be deciphered were also found. The same excavator laid bare a soldiers' cemetery of the period of

[1] *Une nécropole royale à Sidon, passim.*

[2] *Journ. Asiat.*, 1892, I, p. 119.

[3] II, pp. 109–112.

[4] *Mitt. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1904, pp. 312–320.

[5] P. 524.

[6] P. 523.

the Seleucidæ, in which were found some fragments of Greek pottery and twelve painted funeral columns, nine of which are described by Jalabert.[1] Three others had been unearthed in 1897.[2] The votive inscription of Achoris of Egypt, 396–383 B.C., shows that long before the time of Bod-Aštart a temple of Ešmun stood on the south side of the *Nahr-al-Auwaly*. In a later report[3] von Landau mentions a seal in the form of a scarabæus, two parts of a stone plate showing in relief the picture of a male deity, a figure of the Egyptian god Bes, two heads from the classical period, and more pottery. In a tomb near *Hebbabiye* was found a figure, carved in ivory, which served at one time as a rouge-box.

Two remarkable finds of ancient coins were made. In 1852 were unearthed three receptacles of lead, each containing about 1,200 coins; in 1863 three other receptacles of lead were found, two of which were filled with coins of Alexander the Great.[4]

That Sidon was an important centre of glass industry is proved by the interesting finds of glass objects in its ruins. In *Verres antiques recueillis en Phénicie*, published in Paris in 1881, are described 174 articles of glass found in Phœnicia, chiefly in Arados and Sidon. The author does not specify which belong to the latter city. During the Greek and Roman period glass-blowing was well known. Héron de Villefosse describes fragments of four goblets found in Sidon, containing the inscription λαβε την νειχην, and two similar ones found in other places, which he considers of Sidonian workmanship. The *N* of την is reversed, the peculiarity serving perhaps as a trademark.[5] When the workers in glass became more numerous or ambitious, they stamped their names upon their productions. "Artas the Sidonian," in both Greek and Latin, is found on some rich and

[1] *Rev. arch.*, 1904, II, p. 1ff. Cp. *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Université St. Joseph, Beyrouth, 1906, I, p. 171ff. Here is given also a list of names found on the funeral columns from Sidon, now in the Louvre in Paris.

[2] *Rev. arch.*, 1904, I, p. 234ff.

[3] *Mitt. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1905, p. 12ff.

[4] Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 54.

[5] *Bull. de la soc. nat. des antiquaires*, 1904, pp. 277–280.

beautiful vases. It occurs on a broken blue glass handle in the British Museum. Artas is thought to have lived during the reign of Hadrian. On another handle is read, "Made by a Sidonian." Other Sidonian workers in glass whose names have been preserved are Neikon and Eirenaios, the latter belonging to the time of Caligula, whose picture he places by the side of his own name.[1]

[1] L. Lobmeyr, *Die Glassindustrie*, p. 7; M. A. Wallace-Dunlop, *Glass in the Old World*, p. 28; cp. p. 21.



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